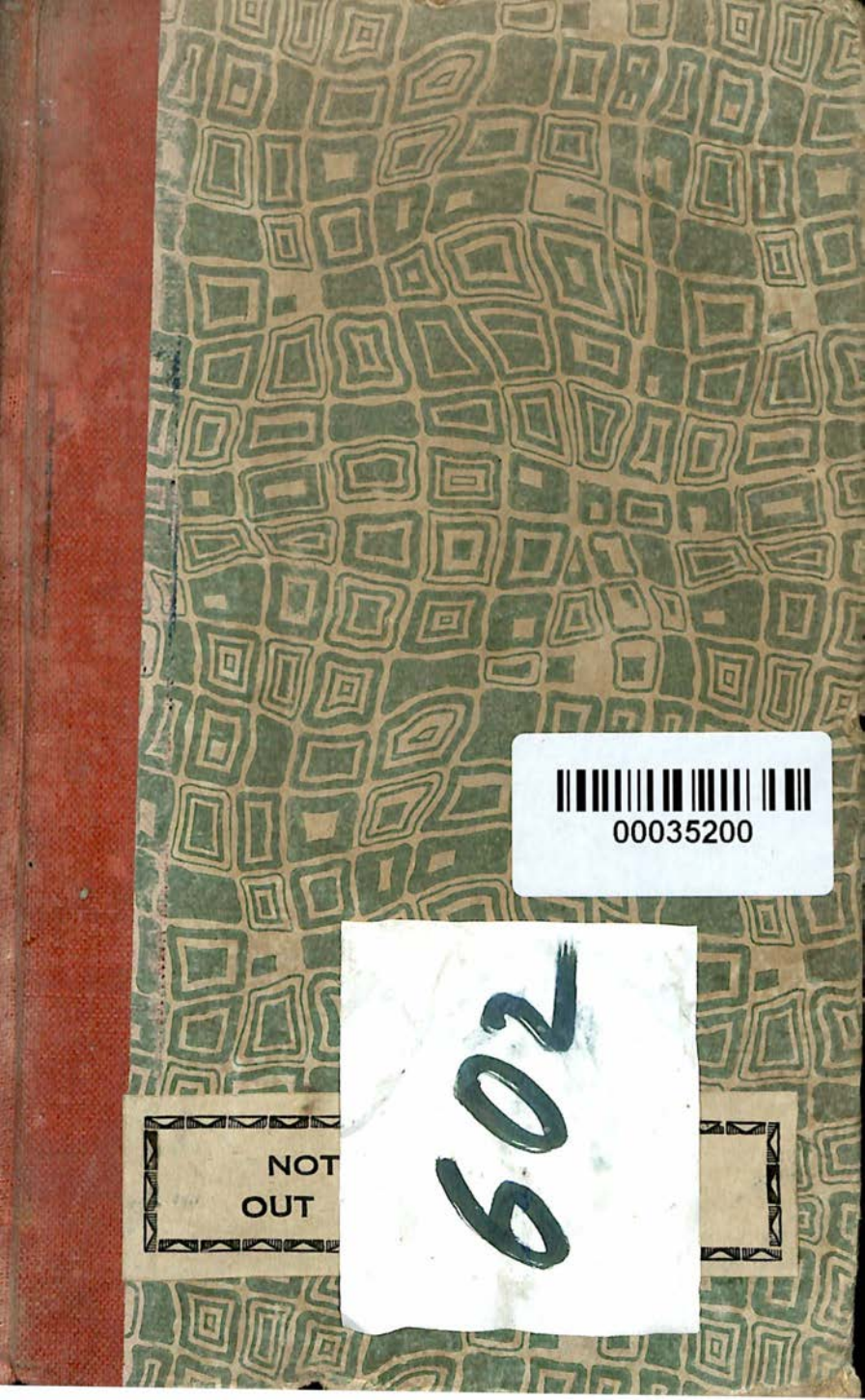
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THE

LAST DAYS

OF THE

EMPEROR NAPOLEON.

BY

DOCTOR F. ANTOMMARCHI.

HIS PHYSICIAN.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

CORSICA;

THE LAND WHICH GAVE HIM BIRTH,

AND

WHICH HE HAS NEVER CEASED TO LOVE.

F. ANTOMMARCHI.

PREFACE.

I HAD not intended, for the present, to embody the recollections I have preserved from St. Helena: but works are rapidly succeeding each other; in some of which Napoleon is described as a man of a violent temper, constantly irritated, and pursuing with base hatred all those who formerly surrounded him; whilst others, arming his own hand against himself, represent him as seeking to terminate at Fontainebleau that

existence, which was only to be closed at Longwood, after a long series of sufferings.

I must confess, that neither in that description, nor in this attempt, do I recognize the great man whom I approached for a considerable time. Amiable, kind, hasty but just, he took a pleasure in exalting the services, and in recalling the noble actions, of even those who had offended him; in a word, his mind was as inaccessible to hateful passions as it was incapable of yielding to the blows of fate.

He loved to revert to the events of his life, without omitting the slightest details or the most trivial incidents

in order, as he would say, that I might be acquainted with all the sensations through which he had passed, and be the better able to appreciate his situation. It is therefore highly improbable, that, in those moments of unreserved confidence of a patient to his physician, he would have concealed from me the fact of his having made an attempt which must ever be attended with consequences of a most serious nature. Overwhelmed, and wounded in his dearest affections, he certainly was attacked by a most violent overflowing of the bile: but he never thought, for a moment, of putting a period to his existence.

The scenes and preparations which such an event suggest may have a

most dramatic effect; but their only existence, in the case alluded to, has been in the imagination of the writer who is pleased to describe them.

THE

LAST MOMENTS OF NAPOLEON.

In writing the following pages I have no intention to cast blame or censure upon any one; but having witnessed Napoleon's last moments, having attended him during his protracted agony, and closed his eyes, I think I owe it to the world to relate what I have seen.

I was acquainted with the Chevalier Colonna, chamberlain to *Madame Mère*. His zeal and devotedness, and the noble indignation which had prompted him to resign the government of the Abbruzzi, were known to me; and I therefore felt entire confidence in his honour and integrity, and could have no hesitation in

following any advice he might give me. He proposed to me to proceed to St. Helena, and I immediately made up my mind to accept his proposal. I consequently settled my own private affairs, made arrangements to prevent the publication of the posthumous works of the celebrated Mascagni, which I superintended, from being interrupted or retarded by my absence, and prepared to depart. This activity was observed, and became obnoxious. Some honest people set to work, and in a short time I was noted as a suspected individual, and had all the agents of the police after me. Marquesses, *abbés*, spies,—all worthy souls, had taken the alarm; it seemed as if I alone could fire Italy from one extremity to the other! Some threatened me, others directed the attention of the Minister towards me: secret informations, anonymous letters,—all were employed against me. But these base intrigues did not affect me. I was going to be attached to the person of the greatest man of the age, to share his exile, to enjoy his presence; little did I care for that vile tribe of insects that are for ever fluttering round the light of power!

The police, to whom I was a source of uneasiness, was however unwilling to let me go.

I was anatomical prosector* at the hospital of Sainte-Marie-Neuve at Florence, attached to the University of Pisa, and as such obliged to reside on the spot. I asked for leave of absence—it was refused; I tendered my resignation—it was not accepted: I could not remain, and was not allowed to go. At a loss what steps to take, I had recourse to negotiations; but the more I insisted, the more I awakened suspicion. The name of Napoleon filled their minds with terror; nothing could dissipate their fears. If I enumerated all the obstacles which rendered the return of that great man impossible,—the seas, fleets, mountains that intervened between him and Europe,—I endeavoured to lull their vigilance into security, I magnified those obstacles because they were perhaps already overcome; I was his agent, his accomplice—I deserved to be held up to public animadversion. These fears of the man in office made me smile; he perceived it, turned pale with anger, and seizing the bell-rope, "You seem to defy me, Sir!" said he.—"I am listening to you."—"You insult me!"—"Far from it, Sir."—"Recollect, Sir, that a word, a sign".....—"I know it."—

* *Prosecteur d'Anatomie,* one who dissects for a Professor of Anatomy.

"Your plots, your secret practices"...—"Anatomical?"—"Your accomplices"...—"The corpses?"—"You interrupt me, Sir, and I will not be interrupted. Yes, Sir, neither your plots, your secret practices, nor your accomplices, have escaped the vigilance of the police. Every thing is known to me, even your most trifling arrangements"...—"In the dissecting-room?"—"No, Sir, in the ball-room: the vapours—the scenes *à la* Campbell. Is Colonna still indisposed? Is he coming? What mad-cap of a woman have you chosen?" I looked at him, to endeavour to make out what he meant.—"My questions are obscure; you do not understand me. It was I who set that old fool B..... after Campbell: I am not to be deceived by your feigned astonishment, Sir; you are a"...—"Physiologist?"—"A conspirator, Sir! However, physiologist and conspirator are one and the same thing. You sigh after the return of the Saturnalia; you regret the time when an executioner, stained with the blood of the victims which his knife had polluted, put on the gown and exercised his share of power."—"Every body is now in his place, Sir; that time will never return. I was saying, Sir, that Napoleon"...—"Keeps all Europe in a state of alarm."

"Chained, closely confined?"—"He is regretted by the people."—"Vast oceans separate him from them."—"Those oceans may be crossed."—"But how can he escape the vigilance of the English?"—"He will deceive them, take them by surprise: water, air, earth, or some new element will assist him; he will recover his liberty once more. I expect any thing; but I watch over Tuscany."—"What has Tuscany to fear,—what can happen to it?"—"The very misfortune you desire for it. Do you think that I deceive myself? do you think that I am not aware of the effect that would be produced if the demon of war appeared once more on the summit of the Alps, and called on the people of Italy to arm for liberty?"

Nothing is to be gained by discussion, particularly with the police; I therefore left this man to brood over his fears, and applied to Cardinal Fesch. I did not wait long before I received the following answer from his Eminence:

"Rome, 19th December, 1818.

"MONSIEUR ANTOMMARCHI,

"Having been requested by Lord Bathurst to procure a surgeon of some fame to be sent to St. Helena, to attend the Emperor Napoleon,

I have selected you to fill that situation, in consequence of the excellent testimonials that have been given to me concerning you, and of the assurance I have received of your ardent wish to devote your zeal and talents to the service of that Prince. You will, therefore, deliver the enclosed letter to his Excellency Lord Burghersh, the British Minister at Florence, in order to obtain from him the passports necessary to enable you to proceed to Rome, and from Rome to London through Germany.

"The sum required for your voyage will be delivered to you here, and the Emperor will himself fix your annual salary.

"You will find here some travelling companions, who are going to the same place as yourself.

"Accept, Sir, the assurance of my friendship and gratitude.

"J. CARDINAL FESCH."

I delivered to the British Minister the Cardinal's letter, which contained the original despatch of Lord Bathurst, authorizing his Eminence to send out four persons to St. Helena. The Minister read it, offered me his countenance and his services, and told me that he

should immediately inform the Grand Duke of the intentions of the English Government. That communication did not, however, put a stop to the informations and insults directed against me. I continued to be watched and threatened, and I even expected every moment to be arrested. My fate, I knew, had been discussed in council; and ministers had assembled three times to deliberate upon that grave affair. It had, in fact, been decided that I should be arrested; but the British Minister represented the odium that would attach to such a measure, and its execution was suspended, and the matter referred to the Cabinet of Vienna, who did not consider my resolution so culpable as the Tuscans had judged it. My resignation was, therefore, accepted. I received my passports, and set off on the 5th January for Rome, where I arrived on the 7th.

I was introduced to *Madame Mère*, to the Cardinal, and to all the members of the Imperial family then at Rome. I thought I should not remain in that city longer than the time necessary to receive their orders, and that I should proceed without delay; but his Eminence was deeply engaged in bulls and orthodoxy, in order to be satisfied that the priest

who was to accompany me did not err in matters of faith. Unfortunately Abbé Parigi was a very accomplished man,—a man of taste and literary acquirements, and of elegant manners, and one who might have greatly contributed to enliven the tedious hours spent by the Emperor at St. Helena. But his determination had displeased certain devout personages, and means were found to prepossess against him the Pope, the Archbishop, and all those who had any influence at Rome.

The Cardinal was aware that the Abbé was the victim of calumny; but susceptible, like Cæsar, he nevertheless rejected him, and withdrew the bull from him. A successor to him was now to be found; and that was no easy matter; so many qualifications are required to make an apostle! But grace, which never forsakes the just, inspired his Eminence with the idea that a missionary, knowing enough of theology and physic to instruct and cure the savages of the South Sea Islands, was precisely the man fitted for St. Helena. Tried both in faith and works, such a man would unite every advantage, and offer no objections; and such a man ought to be sent. Buonavita was consequently selected and appoint-

ed Apostolical Prefect. After a residence of twenty-six years in Mexico, Buonavita had returned to Europe, and had been successively almoner to *Madame Mère* at Elba, and chaplain to Princess Pauline at Rome. He was full of zeal; but feeble, gouty, and infirm, he could not possibly fulfil the object of his mission. A recent attack of apoplexy had also affected his tongue, and almost entirely deprived him of speech. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to accept the appointment. His wish to serve the Emperor made him forget the weakness of his powers. However, as member of the College of the *Propaganda*, he could not go alone. Missions in which the line is to be crossed must be composed of at least two missionaries; and a young Abbé Vignali, who had some notions of medicine, was therefore attached to Buonavita. Princess Pauline gave her cook, *Madame Mère* one of her valets, and thus a little colony was formed. It now remained to be determined whether we should proceed by sea or land; whether we should journey by long or short stages. The Emperor was suffering, and without a physician; but as a priest was to be sent to him who had lost the use of all

his limbs, it was resolved that we should go at a snail's pace, crossing Germany without changing horses, and stopping every where; and that we should wait until the health of our Apostolical Prefect was re-established.

I had already been a month at Rome: time was passing, and we did not move. My patience was almost exhausted; but his Eminence was assailed with doubts and scruples;—I was obliged to submit. To beguile the tedious hours, I tried to visit the soil which I was treading, and which had been trodden by the masters of the world. Here the Gracchi had perished!—there Scipio—further on Servilius! Wherever I turned my eyes, they fell on some spot polluted by crime or bloodshed. It was quite enough for me; and I had no need of the recollections awakened by the aspect of the ruins that Flaminius had once inhabited, to estimate the value of an aristocracy.

At length I received Dr. O'Meara's report of the Emperor's complaint. It was as follows:

"In the last days of September, symptoms have been developed which indicate a disordered state of the hepatic regions. Napoleon had before that time had frequent attacks of

catarrh, head-ach, and rheumatism; but these affections are now aggravated,—his legs and feet are swollen.

"The gums have assumed a spongy, scorbutic appearance, and signs of indigestion have become manifest.

"1st *Oct.* 1817.—Acute pain, heat, sensation of heaviness in the right hypochondriac region, accompanied by dyspepsia and costiveness.

"From that period the disease has continually increased. Its progress has been slow, but unceasing. The pain, which at first was slight, has become so violent that an inflammatory hepatitis may be feared. This aggravation of the disorder proceeds from a violent catarrh.

"Three of the molar-teeth were carious, and I thought they might be, in part, the cause of the inflammatory affections of the maxillary muscles and membranes, and that they might also have produced the catarrh. I therefore extracted them at proper intervals, and the attacks have since been less frequent.

"In order to remove the scorbutic appearance of the gums, I prescribed a vegetable diet, and the use of acids. This treatment had

the desired effect; the affection disappeared, returned again, and again yielded to it.

"Opening medicines and frictions had relieved the legs: they were, however, again attacked after some time, but less violently. Purgatives, warm baths, abundant perspirations, have often diminished the pain in the hypochondriac region, without, however, dissipating it completely. In the months of April and May it increased considerably; became irregular, and produced costiveness, diarrhœa, abundant evacuations of bilious and mucous matter, cholic, and flatulency, accompanied with loss of appetite, sensations of heaviness, uneasiness, and oppression at the pit of the stomach.* Face pale; sclerotic tunicle of the eye† yellow; urine acrid and strongly coloured; depression of spirits, and head-ach. The patient could not lean on the left side. He experienced heat in the right hypochondriac region; nausea, sometimes followed by vomiting of bilious matter, acrid and viscous, and which increased with the pain; almost total absence of sleep; extreme weakness.

"The swelling of the legs again appeared, but in a less degree than at first. Head-ach,

* Anticardium. † Cornea.

uneasiness, anxiety, oppression in the epigastric and precordial region, paroxysm of fever in the earlier part of the night; skin hot, thirst, nausea, pulse quick. Towards day calm and perspiration. This is an effect that may be generally observed in the case of the patient: the fever leaves him after an abundant perspiration. There is in the right hypochondriac region a tumefaction, which is felt on exterior pressure. The tongue is almost constantly white. The pulse, which before his illness gave 54 to 60 pulsations per minute, now beats 88. Pain above the shoulder-blade. Ordered two purgatives to stimulate the liver and the bowels, and to re-establish the secretion of the bile. This gave relief, but it was of short duration. In the last days of May and the first days of June, the effects produced were slight and momentary. Proposed the use of mercury; but the patient manifested the greatest repugnance to take it, and objected to it under any shape. I advised him to ride on horseback, to rub every day the hypochondriac regions with a brush, to wear flannel, to take warm baths, to use remedies, to seek diversion, to follow a diet, and not to expose himself to bad weather, and to the variations of the

atmosphere. He has neglected the two most important things,—viz. exercise and diversion. At last, on the 11th of June, I overcame his repugnance, and obtained that he would try mercury; and he took mercurial pills, No. ij, gr. vj. He continued this medicine until the 16th. I administered them night and morning, and gave him now and then some opening medicines to remove costiveness. At the end of six days I changed the prescription, and substituted calomel (*submurias hydrargyri*) for mercury; but it produced nausea, vomiting, cholic, and a general sensation of uneasiness. I suspended the use of it, and tried it again on the 19th: it caused the same effects. I returned to the first mercurial preparation, and gave it three times a day until the 27th, when I discontinued it altogether. The apartments were extremely damp, and Napoleon had a violent catarrh, with high fever and extreme irritation. I again had recourse to the former remedy on the 2d of July, and continued it till the 9th, but without success. The salivary glands were still in the same state. Absence of sleep, irritation, and vertigos were of more frequent occurrence. Two years of inaction, a murderous climate, apartments low and ill-ven-

tilated, a most barbarous treatment, solitude,—every circumstance that can painfully affect the mind, has concurred in this case; and, all combined, have acted with simultaneous effect on the patient. Can it be a matter of surprise if the hepatic regions are disordered? Is it not, on the contrary, wonderful that the progress of the malady has not been more rapid? That it has not, must be attributed to the strength of mind of the patient, and to the soundness of a constitution unimpaired by intemperance or debauchery.

(Signed) "BARRY E. O'MEARA,
Surgeon, &c."

"Longwood, 9th July, 1818."

The Cardinal and *Madame Mère* wished to lay this report before some members of the profession at Rome; and for that purpose they assembled a consultation of those who enjoyed the greatest reputation. I was present at the conference, together with one of the missionaries, but without taking part in the deliberations. The result of the consultation was delivered to me a few days after in writing. That document was to be my law, my guide; I was not to deviate from it. A copy of it

was also given to Vignali; I could not then comprehend why, but I learnt it at St. Helena. The document was of the following tenor:

" We the undersigned, who have been called together to consult respecting the health of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, having carefully examined a report from Dr. O'Meara, who has attended the patient until the 25th July, 1818, have concurred in the following opinion:

" 1st. The disease of the august patient consists of an obstruction of the liver, and a scorbutic dyscrasy.

" 2d. To oppose the progress of the first-mentioned disorder, it is necessary to have recourse to a diet tempered by the use of fresh vegetables, subacid fruits, and animal substances of easy digestion, and calculated to produce chyle of an emollient nature. Exercise in open air, on foot, on horseback, or in a carriage; a habitation in an airy situation, exposed to the driest and healthiest winds; the use of mild remedies which do not irritate the system, —are so many means that may be successfully resorted to. Preference should, however, be given to the extract of cicuta, acetate of potass,

and a little salt mineral water, of the nature of that of Tettucio in Tuscany.

" 3d. If these remedies should not open the bowels, a small dose of pills, composed of soap, rhubarb, sulphate of soda or potass, and mixed with extract of *taraxicum* *, might be administered to the patient three times a week before supper.

" 4th. In order to eradicate the scorbutic affection, it is necessary, in addition to the three first remedies prescribed in the preceding paragraph, to administer the depurated juices of anti-scorbutic plants, such as *fumaria, veronica beccabunga, nasturtium aquaticum,* but particularly *cochlearia.* To restore to the gums the vigour and consistency which they ought naturally to have, a dentifrice may be used, composed of anti-scorbutic plants pulverised, and mixed with conserve of roses.

" 5th. Should the hepatic affection and its consequences, particularly loss of appetite and flatulency, be removed, it will then be proper to administer whey, made of mare's or ass's milk, mixed with the juice of some bitter, but not aromatic plants: preference to be given to the various kinds of endive.

* Dandelion.

"6th. Lastly, in the hottest time of the year, cold, or at least slightly tepid baths, as well as shower-baths, on the right hypochondriac regions, may be resorted to, but with prudence, if the continuation or increase of the obstruction in the liver should require it, and the scorbutic affection should not forbid their use.

"The applicability of the advice contained in this consultation must depend on the peculiar circumstances of the case of the august patient, and on the state of his disorder, when the medical attendant selected for him shall visit him.

(Signed) "PAUL-BAPTIST MUCCHIELLI,
Physician to his Highness.

"JOHN-BAPTIST BOMBA,
PETER LUPI,
DOMINIQUE MINCHINI,
JOSEPH SISCO.
} Professors of the University."

"Rome, 1st February, 1819."

In the midst of all these consultations, cares, and anxieties, time was rapidly passing away; the end of February approached, and the

period of our departure was not yet fixed. It was in vain that I begged and prayed; his Eminence had always still some case to provide for, some arrangements to make, and my solicitations produced no effect. At last, however, by dint of perseverance I succeeded. He yielded, and gave the desired order; but we were still obliged to lose two days in order to accept a most magnificent dinner, at which *Madame Mère*, Pauline, and Louis were present. Every body was in very good spirits, and they all wished us a pleasant journey and a safe passage.

We had numberless ornaments for the Emperor's chapel, but not a single letter, not a word for the Emperor himself. His Eminence had been so much engaged with bulls and symbols, and other matters of faith, that he had not had time to announce our departure, or even to write a few lines of introduction for us to the *Grand-Maréchal*. He, however, promised to send to London despatches for St. Helena; and on the 25th, in the morning, we at last quitted Rome. But unfortunately our horses were not good, and the roads were bad, so that we proceeded but slowly, and

were twelve days going to Bologna. Her Majesty the Archduchess Maria Louisa had arrived there the day before us; she was going to Florence, whither she was to precede her august father. She did not stop, but the inhabitants had run to meet her, and taking the horses from her carriage, had drawn her a considerable distance in the midst of the most lively acclamations. We continued our journey, and reached successively Modena and Parma. At the latter place we got a lock of little Napoleon's hair, which we religiously carried to St. Helena. We passed through Turin, over Mount Cenis, through Geneva, part of Switzerland, the duchy of Baden, along the right bank of the Rhine, and reached Frankfort on the 1st of April. In that city I had been directed to see the Countess of Survilliers, who received me in the most flattering manner, and enquired very particularly respecting the health of *Madame Mère*. She also introduced me to her two daughters, whose beauty was only equalled by their modesty, and asked me several questions concerning the eldest son of Prince Canino. Being ignorant of the marriage that was then projected, I was at

a loss to account for the lively interest he inspired.

I went the following day to Offenbach, where Count Las Cases resided. Abbé Buonavita had a letter for him from his Eminence, and I wished to offer my services to him, and take his commands for St. Helena; but we found him so ill and so exhausted, that he could scarcely make himself heard. He entered into some details respecting his complaint, and asked my advice as to what he was to do; and this discussion, and the information he gave us about St. Helena, made it very late when I returned to Frankfort. However, as we were to set off the next morning, I went to take leave of Madame de Survilliers. She again asked me several questions, appeared satisfied with my answers, and expressed a wish to see the introduction to the great anatomical work of Mascagni, of which I had a copy with me. The subject was not one much calculated to flatter the delicate taste of a lady; but she desired it, and I obeyed. She admired the neatness and beauty of the execution of the work, and was pleased to address me some highly flattering encomiums on the subject. She then

requested me to remember her to the Emperor, and delivered to Abbé Buonavita various trifling things, some of which were for his Majesty, and the others for Madame Bertrand. On leaving Frankfort we proceeded through Antwerp to Ostend, where we embarked on board the packet.

Our destination was known, and we received marked attention from every body on board. Some addressed congratulations to us; others, expressions of regret: all, save one, seemed as if they would willingly have shared our exile. "What madness!" exclaimed he: "Bonaparte—a traitor!" I was going to reply to the exclamations of this Englishman, who continued them in a tone participating of anger and shame; "Let him alone," said somebody; "it is Campbell: he has some right to be abusive—do not interrupt him." I followed this advice. Our Captain was in high spirits; his pleasantry entertained us all: and we all agreed with him, to Napoleon's shame, that to set an old woman after a man, at a ball, was to play him a scandalous trick, and laugh at him in a most cruel manner! But, however much we might approve our Captain's resentment, we were unwilling that he should carry it too far. We

told him so; he was going to be angry, but we begged he would not, and he listened to us. We soon got to Dover, and afterwards to London, where we arrived on the 19th.

Two days after our arrival we called at Lord Bathurst's office. We were desirous of delivering to his Lordship the letter from the Cardinal, announcing to him the departure of our little colony for St. Helena; but his Lordship did not condescend to receive us. He sent us his Secretary, who asked us some questions relative to our departure, our arrival, and the incidents of our journey; and promised to lay our despatches before his Lordship, and to send us an answer very shortly.

Accordingly, a few days afterwards, Abbé Buonavita received a letter, informing us that we were to hold ourselves in readiness to set off, and that we should proceed to the Cape in the first instance, there being no opportunity direct for St. Helena. Vignali could not go with us, we were told at the same time, one priest being sufficient for Bonaparte, and the Cardinal having received permission for four persons only. This determination was very unwelcome, and upset all the calculations of his Eminence; but, fortunately, our Apostolical

Prefect succeeded in obtaining its revocation. He wrote to Lord Bathurst, representing his age and infirmities, and the orders of his Holiness the Pope forbidding all Missionaries to go singly into a country that is not Catholic. The Minister relented, gave some hopes to the old man, and granted, at last, to his grey hairs what he had refused to the Cardinal.

Nothing now remained but to set off. But the winds were contrary, there were no opportunities for St. Helena, and the ships for the Cape had already sailed. We must wait until after the weather became favourable, and we should be sent out by the first transport that sailed: such was the language held to us. Opportunities for those places occurred frequently; we knew it: but on every occasion the Minister had received no intelligence of it, and it would have ill become us to be better informed than the Government.

Dr. O'Meara had just arrived in London. I immediately went to him, to obtain some details respecting the Emperor's situation. He told me that it was daily growing worse; that *hepatitis* is endemic at St. Helena; that all his cares, all the most famed remedies, had failed to arrest its progress; and that he considered Napo-

leon's cure impossible, unless he were to be removed from the fatal influence of that climate. At his departure, he had advised him to call in Dr. Stokoe of the Conqueror; but this gentleman had scarcely paid a few visits, when the Governor had taken umbrage at it. Dr. O'Meara delivered to me Dr. Stokoe's reports, which were of the following tenor:

"Longwood, 17th January, 1819.

"I have visited Napoleon this morning, and found him in a state of extreme weakness. He suffered great pain in the right side, in the hepatic region, and shooting pains in the shoulder. In the middle of the night he had had a violent head-ach, followed by vertigoes, which lasted a quarter of an hour. After it was over he took a warm bath, which brought on abundant perspiration and gave him considerable relief.

"Considering the tendency to a determination of blood to the head, I think it indispensable that a medical attendant should be constantly with him, to render in time every assistance required in a case of so grave a nature.

(Signed) "JOHN STOKOE."

TO COUNT BERTRAND.

" Longwood, 18th January, 1819.

" Notwithstanding the symptoms of chronic hepatitis which first appeared sixteen months ago, and the disorders they have produced, I do not think there is any imminent danger. The disease assumes every day a more unfavourable character, and will, in all probability, terminate Napoleon's life. But however pernicious the influence of the climate may be, and however rapid the progress of the disease, I repeat it, I do not think there is any imminent danger.

" The most alarming symptoms are those which were developed in the course of the night before last. If they should appear again they might produce fatal consequences, particularly if medical assistance were not at hand.

(Signed) " JOHN STOKOE."

" Longwood, 19th January, 1819.

" Yesterday, soon after my arrival at Longwood, I was requested to go to see Napoleon Bonaparte. Count Bertrand asked me the reason of my long absence; and I told him, that as the Admiral had not received any official inti-

mation from Longwood, I had only obtained leave very late in the afternoon. I have seen the patient. The fever continued the same, the heat of the skin was considerable, the head-ache had increased, and he had had no motion for twenty-four hours. I was apprehensive of an attack similar to that which occurred in the night from Saturday to Sunday, and advised him to lose a little blood, and to take a strong purgative. He manifested repugnance to my prescriptions, and preferred an *enema*. At about three o'clock in the morning Count Bertrand sent for me, and begged me to go with him to Napoleon. The symptoms had not diminished, and the head-ach had been continually increasing. I strongly insisted upon his being bled: he consented, and experienced almost immediate relief. He also took a strong dose of Cheltenham salts.

" On this occasion I examined the hepatic region more particularly than I had done before, and I am now convinced that the liver is seriously affected. I have consequently recommended the use of mercury, and of other medicines which agree with the constitution of the patient.

(Signed) " JOHN STOKOE."

" St. Helena, 20th January, 1819.

" SIR,

" I have strong reasons to suppose that my visits at Longwood will be suspended, either by direct orders from my superiors, or because means will be found to render my attendance there so very unpleasant, that I shall be obliged to give it up. However that may be, if I have not the opportunity of speaking to you on a subject in which I feel extremely interested, let me request you to do all in your power to induce Napoleon to follow the course of medicine which I have prescribed for him. That alone can avert the danger that threatens him. Hepatitis, at whatever stage it may be, is a dangerous disease, particularly in a climate like that of St. Helena.

" The obstruction of the liver, an habitual state of costiveness, and the derangement of the digestive organs, will produce a determination of blood to the head, precisely as it happened on Saturday.

" I therefore entreat you, Sir, if I am no longer allowed to attend him, to use all your endea-

vours to obtain that Dr. Verling may be my successor at Longwood.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) " JOHN STOKOE."

TO COUNT BERTRAND.

" Longwood, 21st January, 1819.

" An hour and a half after my arrival at Longwood I saw Napoleon. The fever was slight, but the pain in the right side had increased. The purgative had produced evacuations, accompanied by violent colic. The patient had not slept well, and the pain in the side continued unabated. I advised him to take a warm bath, and left him in it. Before I went away, I insisted upon the necessity of recommencing a medical treatment. I told him that I had already prepared some medicines, and that I should send him others, with proper instructions how to use them, since I could not continue my visits. He replied, that he would never take any medicine that was not administered to him by his own surgeon.

" I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) " JOHN STOKOE."

These reports fixed my determination; and without stopping at the office, or inquiring for the Secretary, I went to Lord Bathurst himself. I recalled to his mind the promises that had been made to us, and the intimation we had received from him: told him that ships were now ready to sail; that the opportunities which he wished to avail himself of were now offering; and that we were very anxious that they should not be allowed to escape by unnecessary delays. Those delays, I added, were doubly painful to us, for they put us to immense expenses, and exposed Napoleon to serious accidents.—"So you think him ill?"—"The reports are unanimous on that subject."—"Ah!"...—"Stokoe! O'Meara!"...—"Stokoe! O'Meara! What do they think of his complaint at Rome?"—"They entertain very serious alarms."—"They dread the influence of the climate?"—"In the highest degree."—"The penury, the privations, the bad treatment to which he is exposed?"—"They anticipate all the consequences that may result from so rigorous a captivity."—"Seriously?"—"Undoubtedly."—"Well, calm your apprehensions and those of his family; I have

just received intelligence respecting him,—he is perfectly well."

These last words were pronounced with an expression of truth that went to my heart; I could not contain the manifestation of my joy. His Lordship observed it, and without shewing any signs of disapprobation continued;—"He cries out, he complains, but he has every thing he can want at St. Helena: Government supplies him with every thing in abundance; he costs us immense sums! However, be comforted; you will soon judge by your own observation whether I tell the truth."

I should have wished to believe the intelligence, and probably his Lordship also; but the respect I already entertained for Sir Hudson Lowe could not prevail over the assertions of professional men. I resolved to take the benefit of the experience of some skilful practitioners, particularly of those who had practised within the tropics, or even at St. Helena. The publication of the posthumous works of Mascagni had given me a sort of celebrity, and I naturally found myself in social intercourse with the first men in London. All proffered their advice and assistance; every one invited me to

have recourse to him; one and all seemed anxious to contribute to alleviate sufferings of which they deprecated the cause. I accordingly took advantage of their favourable dispositions: I addressed circular letters to them; I laid before them the consultation which had been delivered to me, and the reports which I had received, and I requested them to give me their opinion respecting the Emperor's complaint, and to point out the means which they considered the best calculated to effect its cure. All, but particularly the venerable James Curry, so celebrated for his labours on hepatitis, answered me with a zeal and kindness that affected me most sensibly. I collected together their different opinions, and submitted them to the discussion of some physicians whose practice had been more particularly directed to the kind of disease in question. The result of their discussion was the following prescription:

"We have deliberated upon the written and verbal statements of Doctors O'Meara and Stokoe, and think we have discovered that the disease of Napoleon is *chronic hepatitis*. That disorder almost always proceeds from acute hepatitis; particularly when the patient, born

in another country, accustomed to other climates, is obliged to reside within the tropics; but it is also sometimes produced by local circumstances which have a tendency to disturb perspiration. Such is the case in the present instance. The relaxation of the primitive texture of the liver, added to the sudden cessation of activity in the cerebral and muscular functions, and to the debilitation of the intellectual faculties, must naturally have accelerated the progress of humoral obstruction in that organ. We can affirm that scorbutic dyscrasy does not exist yet. The mucous membranes that cover the gums, and others of the same nature, are generally the first to be affected by any irregularity of the viscera that acts directly upon the functions of chylification, sanguification, and the successive nutrition of organic parts."

The curative means to be resorted to are described in the following letter:

"SIR,

"I HAVE attentively perused the two reports which you have been kind enough to send me. If I were not convinced of the little value of an opinion formed without seeing the patient, I should be disposed to complain of

the want of information upon certain points, which I generally consider important when I wish to obtain an exact diagnostic in hepatic cases; but instead of entering into a dissertation which would appear to you useless, I think it sufficient to repeat in general terms what I have already had the pleasure of mentioning to you personally; that is, that all the experiments and observations I have made, or been able to collect, have fully convinced me that mercurial preparations are the only means by which a radical cure can be effected. Mercury is, of all medicines, that which most effectually answers our expectations, provided there be yet no organic injury; and provided it be administered with prudence, and under proper circumstances. I should not, however, wish it to be understood that I mean to exclude all other remedies, such as local bleeding, blisters, purgatives, refrigerants, &c.

"I am afraid you will think I am entering into superfluous details with you, who as a pupil of Mascagni must know better than any body, that nothing so satisfactorily exhibits the state of an organ as the manner in which it executes its functions, if I add, that as the ordinary operation of mercurial medicines is to

stimulate the liver to perform its natural secretions, the quantity and quality of the preparation must be solely adapted to obtain that end; the appearance must point out to us the advantages already gained, and must be our sole guide in the application of the great remedy, the recommendation of which is the principal object of this letter.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"S."

"London—Saturday."

One of the most distinguished pupils of Dr. Curry did not confine himself to recommending to me the use of mercurial preparations; he wished to enable me to judge by my own observation of the efficacy of this specific. For that purpose he took me to the different establishments of the capital, and gave me opportunities of witnessing the effect produced by it in cases of hepatitis and of chronic fluxes, occasioned by residence in India, or within the tropics. I experienced the same kindness and attentions from several other skilful practitioners of London. Every one communicated to me the result of his observations, and his own views and ideas on the subject. I had also

access to every museum or collection: the name of Napoleon was a passport of admittance every where; nobody wished to appear an accomplice in the conduct of Ministers.

I had with me the introduction to and the proofs of thirty plates of the great anatomical work of Mascagni, the publication of which I had superintended. I shewed them to some physiologists, who spoke of them in the world, and curiosity was generally excited. Every body wished to see that beautiful work, and from the learned the expression of the admiration it excited found its way into the public papers. We now possessed, it was said, a topographical map,—a panorama of the human body. The frame of the edifice—the pieces which determine its form, give it grace and produce its motions—the fibres which transmit the acts of the will, the canals through which flow the humours that form the blood,—all was described, all was traced with a degree of neatness and perfection hitherto unexampled. Dissection was henceforth superfluous, and anatomy was no longer a disgusting study.

This introduction was published under the patronage of the Prince Regent, and the edi-

tors had requested me to present the dedication of it to his Royal Highness. This I did, through the medium of Lord Bathurst, to whom I again renewed our incessant request to be allowed to set off. As usual, I received the most positive promises, and the usual result followed them. Ships were continually sailing for the Cape, or St. Helena; but his Lordship was so unlucky that he was either not apprised of it in time, or could not procure a passage.

Up to the moment of my departure I had not had any thing to do with the police,—and I had no idea that it was so timorously inclined. I could never have supposed, for instance, that anatomical plates would furnish matter for suspicion; I thought there could be no difficulty opposed to my taking them with me; but I found the case different. In the present age every thing conspires; and muscles and tendons might compass the death of kings, or communicate with usurpation! I interceded with Lord Bathurst on their behalf, and requested him to allow me to make them the companions of my exile, and to get from Europe the books that were necessary to enable me to complete the work; but his Lord-

ship gave me an answer that was far from being satisfactory. It seemed, therefore, that suspicions existed, which it was necessary to dispel. To open a correspondence would have been a tedious process, and of doubtful issue; and I therefore adopted a more straight-forward course. I took the plates to Lord Bathurst's office, and submitted them to his inspection. His Lordship's reception was most affable: he looked at the plates, examined them minutely, and asked me several questions concerning the work itself, and the obstacles and delays that my residence at St. Helena would oppose to its publication. Several persons came in whilst his Lordship was looking at the plates, and they also expressed themselves equally gratified. The undertaking was vast, they said, and well conceived, and deserved to be patronized by the British Government. How could I abandon occupations so noble and useful, to go and reside on a miserable rock? What inconceivable infatuation!—They were Englishmen, and I am a Frenchman; we could not possibly understand each other: I therefore thanked them for their kindness, and requested his Lordship to hasten the period of our departure, which had been so often promised and deferred. My interview

with his Lordship had lasted more than an hour, and I had received the assurance that I should be allowed to take the plates with me, and that we should sail very shortly. I went away full of hope and joy. But the illusion was of short duration: I was soon assailed with offers and threats.

England abounds in first-rate practitioners, and I could not therefore suppose that there really existed any intention to secure my presence and my services; — the object was to insult Napoleon, to degrade me; and all the riches of India would have been insufficient to atone for so base an attempt.

Every endeavour to corrupt me having proved ineffectual, means were tried to bring me to commit myself. We had at last received notice to hold ourselves in readiness to depart, and I had been to take leave of some friends, and was accompanying a lady home, when I was accosted by several individuals of mean appearance, who began to load me with the most opprobrious epithets, and to vociferate abuse against the French, and against the lady who was with me. As long as they had confined their insults to me, personally, I had contained myself; but I could not suffer them to

insult a lady of respectability; and I was on the point of giving way to a movement of anger, but my companion checked me, and led me into a neighbouring house, where I met with one of the chief magistrates. I was greatly agitated, and almost out of breath, and related to him with vehemence the insult to which I had been exposed. "You may think yourself very fortunate," said he, "that this lady perceived the snare laid for you, otherwise you might have committed yourself with those vagabonds, and been arrested and detained. Justice would have been ultimately done, and you would have had satisfaction; but in the mean time the vessel might have sailed, and you would have lost your passage." These observations of this magistrate had the effect of pacifying me immediately; I perceived the danger from which I had escaped, and became perfectly calm and resigned. All the agents of the police together would have been unable to provoke me.

It was the 8th of July, and our departure was fixed for the next day. We were required to sign our consent to our exile, and a promise to submit to the regulations in force at St. Helena. I should have accepted much harder conditions still, and I therefore signed

without making a single observation; and never in my life did I give my signature with so much satisfaction. The letter from the Minister stated that we were to embark at Deptford; but it afterwards turned out to be a mistake, and that Gravesend was the place. To Gravesend, therefore, we accordingly went. The vessel in which we were to sail was called the Snipe, and was worthy of the hands that had selected it. It was a trading brig of very inferior description, laden with flour, encumbered with large pieces of timber of every kind, and not having a clear space of two square feet. It also leaned on one side, so that we had no space in which to move: we were compelled to keep ourselves in a painful attitude during a long voyage, and we ran the risk of being upset from one moment to the other. I applied to a magistrate: he listened to us, as they all did,—made a great many promises, and kept none. The captain and his crew corresponded with the vessel; and I concluded that he had not been selected without some motive. It appeared that my complaint to the magistrate had secured him, and I therefore resolved to be prepared to encounter his benevolence. I purchased provisions: he exclaimed against the in-

utility of the expense, in which Abbé Buonavita joined him, and he swore that his vessel was amply supplied, and that we should have every thing we could wish for during our passage. I took no notice of these observations, and continued to lay in my stock: and it was fortunate that I did so, as I soon had occasion to find out. We had to do with a man of sordid feelings, who calculated every thing, even the advantages that could be gained over the powers of the appetite. A pot of beer, some salt beef, and a fowl, which a single sailor would have easily dispatched, composed the dinner of the whole colony.

This was slight diet, no doubt; but what was to be done? We were assailed by storms, and he only replied to our complaints by relating stories inculcating resignation. He had observed in particular that the Apostolical Prefect was displeased. We were just leaving the Bay of Biscay, and the storm was subsiding; he came and sat by the side of him, and related to us with apparent indifference that his usual navigation was between Alexandria and Djedda, and that he conveyed pilgrims from one of those places to the other. The Koran prescribes abstinence; and he took care to enforce the

observance of that precept. But temperance is not generally the virtue of devotees, and these pilgrims wanted water and provisions: all the springs and all the productions of the coast would not have sufficed, had he not found out that the horsewhip, the hold, and the sea furnished him with less expensive means of putting an end to their murmurs. From that moment nobody had ever attempted to make a tavern of his ship, and all had religiously submitted to a praiseworthy abstinence. Having finished this story, he got up and went away, giving several orders to the sailors in a very loud tone of voice, and left the missionary to reflect upon what he had heard. This hint produced its due effect: from that moment the holy man found every thing good, and ceased to complain. My turn came next. The weather had become fine—a favourable wind filled our sails, and we were in sight of Mogador. Our provisions were nearly exhausted; we had no more fresh meat, vegetables, nor fermented liquors, and even our water was nearly out; so that we were on the point of finding ourselves destitute of every thing. Suffering horribly from sea-sickness, I could not myself eat any thing, and I therefore cared little about being on short commons; but

the other passengers were dying with hunger, and I could not bear to see it. I accordingly went to the captain, reproached him severely for his conduct, and summoned him to go ashore and purchase provisions. He refused, and spoke of subordination; but all the crew joined with me. I offered to purchase the provisions on my own account: he consented, and I gave him the money. I wanted to accompany him, but he obstinately refused, and persisted in going alone.

The vessel was lying-to, the motion had ceased, and I found myself better. I took advantage of that moment of calm to observe the coast and the town of Mogador. The town appeared to me ill-built and irregular, and the plain without trees or verdure: I saw nothing but sand and misery; and such is, indeed, the only prospect these desolate regions offer. The scene was, however, varied by a few dromedaries that were eating a scanty grass growing in the midst of the downs, and dragging on their wretched existence. An immense cloud of dust appeared at a distance: I took my glass, in order to ascertain what had raised it, and saw camels, asses, and beasts of burden. I was busily engaged observing this spectacle, when

the captain returned with his boat. He had brought no provisions with him, and seemed to be in a most violent passion. We tried to ascertain what could have produced it. I asked him what mishap brought him back with empty hands; but he was giving orders to tack, and did not answer me.

It was only after we were out at sea again that he told us Mogador was a horrible place; that he had not been able to dispose of his timber, and that nobody had come forward to make him any offer. "But the provisions?" —"D—— the provisions! I wanted to sell my planks."—"And it is for that purpose that you went ashore?"—"What other motive could induce me to go?"—"Starve us in this way!"—"We are now close to Cape Verd."—"Leave us without meat or biscuits!"—"The distance is less than from Babel-Mandel to Djeddà." —"An immense voyage!"—"Like that from Iambo to Cosseir."—"Putrid water!"—"The Catholic religion does not command ablution."— "I understand you; you threaten, you wish to intimidate!"—"I"....—"To insinuate that the indignities to which the pilgrims were exposed, privations and dungeons, await us!"—"You exaggerate."—"You exult in the recollection

of the infamous manner in which you then behaved." — "Towards Turks." — "They were men." — "Very untractable, who would not listen to any thing, and who harangued too much: do you understand me? But what have I to do with these discussions? There is every thing on board my ship that can be desired, and the passengers whom I receive may be content with what I think sufficient for myself. You are five, and I have received two hundred pounds for you all; is it enough to entitle you to be so particular? Ought I to have paid one pound ten anchorage, in order to satisfy an inordinate appetite?"

Such was the noble motive of this pirate. He exposed his passengers and the crew of the ship to die of hunger, in order to save the expense of so large a sum! I would have given ten times that amount to relieve them from their painful situation; but it was too late: the wind continued favourable, and we were going four knots an hour; we were obliged to resign ourselves to our fate. Presently we got amongst some rocks; but fortunately the sea was calm, and our sordid captain very skilful. He sounded, tacked, steered clear of the rocks, and succeeded in extricating us

from the perilous situation into which he had thrown us. He thought to touch at the island of Goree, and it turned out to be an uncultivated shore, on which he fancied there must be a great number of savages. He, therefore, resolved to go and reconnoitre it; and taking from his cabin a few rusty swords, and guns out of order, he prepared to set out on this great expedition, at the head of four persons. The Apostolical Prefect would not remain inactive in an occurrence of so much importance; the crew were going to subdue nations; he sent Vignali to baptise them. Unfortunately, however, the conquerors and the missionary found nobody to reduce or to convert; they came back, and we were going to sail, when we saw an armed schooner bearing down upon us. It was a revenue schooner. Surprised to see a vessel on the spot where we were detained by the warlike disposition of our captain, they suspected us of fraudulent intentions, and came in chase of us. They asked us who we were, whence we came, and whither we were going. We told them, and immediately we found ourselves warmly greeted and welcomed;—we were, in fact, quite at home. I went ashore, in spite of the captain's remonstrances, to recruit myself

a little, after the fatigues and privations I had experienced.

I received the greatest civility and attention from every Frenchman in the island, and was desirous of expressing to them my gratitude for their kindness. I asked them all to dinner, and introduced to them my travelling companions, whom I had brought from the vessel. I had also invited our odious captain, but he had the discretion not to come. Shame was not the only motive that induced him to remain away; he had another: but I cared little about it, and allowed him to go on his own way. We drank to the prosperity of France, and then replenished our stock of provisions. I lodged with a Frenchman, a native of Marseilles. The dinner having taken place at his house, I was anxious to remunerate him for the expense he must have incurred, but he would not hear of it. "His mother was a Corsican, I was a Corsican, and I had been selected to be Napoleon's medical attendant. He considered himself happy in having received me under his roof."—I thought of offering him some hams, which were all that remained of the provisions I had purchased in London; and we accordingly went on board of the vessel to fetch them. But our pirate had

been beforehand with us; he had taken my hams and sold them, and had got in their stead a cargo of ducks, hogs, and sows, which were running after each other, fighting, littering, and offering a spectacle equally offensive to the sight and to the smell. This was the height of indignity; but what had we to oppose to a conduct so profoundly immoral? We were going to be out at sea again, and complaints were therefore of dangerous experiment, and experience had fully convinced us that representations were of no avail. We had, then, nothing better to do than to submit once more; and having embarked, we set all sail, and soon found ourselves off Cape Palmas. We approached the coast, and immediately saw canoes filled with people, push off, and make towards us. This was a fortunate circumstance, as we had only been able to lay in a small stock of provisions. Our captain, indeed, was provided with claret and fowls; but he intended them for the market of St. Helena, and had nothing for us. We had fallen again into our former state of destitution, and hunger again assailed us. We therefore followed, with some degree of anxiety, the progress of these canoes. They were light and rapid, narrow and long, and were guided by

men squatting down, who struck the sea with their hands and thus glided upon its surface. The slightest movement caused them to upset; but, nimble as fishes, they righted their boats again in an instant, and continued their course. We were lying-to, and they therefore soon came up to us. They appeared to be a strong, robust, well-made race of men. They brought us provisions, and we received them with all the amenity in our power. "Where are you going?" asked one of them.—"To St. Helena." The name of St. Helena struck him, he seemed petrified.—"To St. Helena!" replied he, with an accent of grief and surprise. "Is it true that he is there?"—"Who?" said the captain. The African cast upon him a look of disdain, came towards us, and repeated the question. We answered that he *was* there. He looked at us, shook his head, and pronounced at last the word "Impossible!" We looked at each other; we could not make out who that savage could be who spoke English and French, and had so high an opinion of Napoleon. "You know him?" said we.—"I have known him long since."—"You have seen him?"—"In the height of his glory."—"Often?"—"At Cairo,

in the desert, on the field of battle."—You do not believe in his misfortunes?"—"His arm is strong, and his tongue sweet as honey; nothing can resist him."—"He has long contended against the united efforts of all Europe."—"Neither Europe nor the whole world can overcome such a man: Mamelukes, Pachas,—all disappeared before him; he is the god of battles."—"Where did you then know him?"—"I have already told you; in Egypt."—"You have served?"—"Yes, in the 21st Semi-brigade. I was at Bir-am-bar, at Samahout, at Cosseir, at Coptos,—wherever that corps was. What is become of General Belliard?"—"He is living; he has rendered his name illustrious by numerous noble actions. You also know him?"—"He commanded the 21st; he would run over the desert like an Arab; no obstacle stopped him."—"Do you recollect General Desaix?"—"Nobody who has belonged to the expedition of Upper Egypt can ever forget him. He was brave, ardent, generous, and an admirer of ruins as well as a lover of battles. I served under him a long time."—"As a soldier?"—"Not at first: I was a slave, and belonged to one of the sons of the king of Darfour. I was brought to Egypt,

ill-treated, and sold, and I fell into the hands of an aide-de-camp of the Just.* They dressed me according to the European fashion, and entrusted me with some domestic offices, of which I acquitted myself to their satisfaction. The Sultan was pleased with my zeal, and attached me to his person. I afterwards became soldier and grenadier, and would have shed the last drop of my blood for him. But Napoleon cannot be at St. Helena!"—"His misfortunes are, however, but too certain. Lassitude, disaffection, plots...."—"All disappeared before him. A word rewarded us for our fatigues. As soon as we saw him our wishes were fulfilled, and fear was banished from our minds."—"Have you fought under him?"—"I had been wounded at Coptos, and was sent to Lower Egypt, and I was at Cairo when Mustapha appeared. The army then marched; I followed it, and was present at Aboukir. What precision, what quickness of perception, what brilliant charges! Oh! it is impossible that Napoleon should have been beaten,—that he should be at St. Helena."

Seeing that this man persisted in his incre-

* A name given by the Egyptians to General Desaix.

dulity, we did not insist: he cherished his illusion, and we did not wish to destroy it. We gave him some tobacco, some powder, a few clothes, and other trifles, which were of some value amongst his countrymen; and he left us quite pleased, speaking about the 21st Semi-brigade and its officers, and about the generals under whom he had served; and protesting that it was impossible that so great a man as Napoleon should be at St. Helena.

We had taken in reefs as it blew fresh, but we were fearful of being soon becalmed; we therefore spread all our canvass, and passed the Gulf of Guinea and the line; on which occasion we went through all the accustomed ablutions and ceremonies. But the sea soon grew very rough; our rigging was much strained, and the vessel leaked in every direction. We made no way: the heat was suffocating; and ducks, pigs, and ourselves, were all pell-mell together, weltering in filth. Sickness soon made its appearance, and Abbé Buonavita was at the last extremity, whilst our dainty captain was gorging himself with a certain dish relished by the Romans. Our passage was longer than he had expected; and

his provision of poultry was nearly exhausted: he bethought himself of turning to account the poor sows that were fast dying with hunger, and distributed them to the crew, reserving for himself the little pigs half-formed, which they had not yet littered. He thought that disgusting mess delicious; he praised it, he extolled it, and wished to make us all partakers of his pleasures. He was tormented with cholic, and wanted my assistance; I was therefore the first whom he honoured with an invitation. "Come," said he, "it is a most exquisite dish: we will have them fried; we will make little pies of them! All the crew . . . ." I did not give him time to finish his sentence; an involuntary movement told him my thoughts. He left me, murmuring in an under-tone the polite epithet of "French dog!"

It was the 10th of September. The labour of the pump, the heat of the weather, indigestions, gave the sailors no respite; they were extenuated—even the captain himself could hardly support himself. He was less insolent and sordid; he no longer spoke of the insults which he had offered to the Turks on board his ship; he only aspired to reach our destination. All of a sudden he thought he perceived it:

we were, he said, off St. Helena; he made his observations, and was certain of it. Unfortunately, however, he proved himself less skilful as an astronomer than as a purveyor: St. Helena disappeared during the night; when daylight came there were no traces of it to be seen;—in fact, it was only in the course of the morning of the 18th that we actually did see it.

What an inauspicious aspect it presented from afar! What masses of cragged and barren rocks! What a residence! But there was the Emperor; there English cruelty persecuted its victim with relentless fury! There the Sovereigns of Europe were taking revenge upon that great man for the errors of his generosity. We were going to tread the same soil, to breathe the same air: could *we* complain of sharing the fate of the master of the world?

We were extremely impatient to land; but not so Sir Hudson Lowe. It was necessary to lay a snare for us, and he wanted a few hours to meditate how to do it. He sent us word that we could not enter the port immediately; but that we should be admitted the next morning at day-break. I enquired how Napoleon was: "Very well, quite well!" answered Sir

Hudson's messengers: "He enjoys excellent health; he is better than we are!" They withdrew, and we saw several boats come and row about the ship. I was not deceived by this sort of stratagem, but I felt a curiosity to know precisely the truth. "What do these boats want?" said I to the captain. "They are fishing-boats." —"Probably the men have fish; ask them to sell us some." He asked them, but they had not yet cast their nets. My question had disconcerted them, and they went away. It is impossible to foresee every thing; besides, men of that stamp were not calculated to baffle the plots that we might have formed: the glory of intercepting a letter, or a scrap of paper,—of insuring, in a word, the repose of the world,—belonged to his Excellency, or to Reade, or Gorrequer!

As we had not entrusted any thing to the fishermen of Sir Hudson, it was clear that all the plan of the conspiracy was about our persons. Increased vigilance was therefore used; and, before we entered the port we were examined, searched, and placed under the *surveillance* of officers sent on board. But all these precautions did not prevent communication, not from us, nor through us, but through our

worthy Captain, who, however, was not the wiser for it. Some wag had delivered to him at Deptford seventeen sealed copies of a religious work, addressed to different inhabitants of St. Helena. I had judged from its size that this was not a biblical production, and I even thought I knew what it was; but our pirate had been paid for the freight of it, and it was not my business to advise him to detain it. He therefore took the books out of the box one by one, and sent them on shore through the officer on duty. So much the better! The inhabitants of St. Helena would now become more Anglican. Whilst these people were engaged in disseminating the word of God in the island, his Excellency had read Lord Bathurst's dispatch, and had sent us one of his officers to authorize us to land, and to accompany us to his Excellency's, who expressed a wish to see us. We accordingly went to Plantation-house, where we were received with a degree of kindness and politeness that filled us with astonishment. Sir Hudson introduced us to the Adjutant-general, to the Major, and to every individual at St. Helena that enjoyed his confidence. He was attentive and affable, and seemed to take the liveliest interest in even the

most trifling incidents of our passage. He spoke of Ajaccio, told us that he had resided there; that he liked the Corsicans, that they are generous and brave; and that he was certain we should live upon the best terms together. Had we but said a word, his Excellency would have hanged our corsair, for the sake of concord: but we had now nothing more to do with him; we had no longer to fear that he would offer to make us eat certain pies..., He was now going to be in the hands of his Excellency, and that was quite enough.

Doctor Verling came in from Longwood, and Sir Hudson introduced me to him. I thought he had succeeded Stokoe, and I therefore asked him how Napoleon was. "Napoleon!" said he, consulting the eyes of the Governor to know what answer he was to make. His Excellency relieved him from his embarrassment, by telling me that Dr. Verling did not attend General Bonaparte, but General Montholon. The Doctor felt that his visit was ill-timed, and withdrew. After he had left us, his Excellency continued to hold forth respecting the good dispositions which he concluded we brought to St. Helena, the advantages we should find in it, and the pleasure he should

have in rendering our residence there agreeable. Dinner was served: Sir Hudson insisted upon our staying, and Reade, Gorrequer, and himself vied with each other in politeness and attention towards us. But Corsica was still the prevailing subject of their conversation. Men born there possessed a greater degree of courage and sagacity than elsewhere; they formed a more correct judgment of circumstances and events—they yielded with a better grace to necessity. Besides, what was there so unpleasant in the island? The climate was good, the air healthy, the temperature tolerable. The variation between James Town and Longwood was not more than eight or ten degrees, and the range of the excursions of the thermometer did not exceed from sixty-five to ninety.

Sir Hudson related all this with an air of so much simplicity, that it was necessary to recollect that we were his prisoners, to find patience enough to listen to him. I affected not to understand him; and he then turned the conversation upon General Bonaparte, blamed his pride and his stubbornness, and complained bitterly of one of his protests.* And there was indeed

* That of the 2d of August, 1815; for which see Las Cases, Part V. Vol. iii. p. 241 to 254.

matter for complaint; the document was too vehement; his Excellency deserved to be more respectfully treated.

The dinner over, and Sir Hudson having given vent to his ill humour, we prepared to go to Longwood: but we might be the bearers of letters, manuscripts or plans, and nothing of that kind could be allowed to be introduced there without having been submitted to M. Gorrequer's inspection. He informed us of it, and apologized; but he was, he said, a sworn enemy to correspondences, and waged war against them without mercy. We immediately emptied our pockets, and opened our pocket-books; Cerberus relented, and we passed: but he might have required us to undress if he had thought proper! Gorrequer having done with us, Reade's turn came; and he was not so easily satisfied, but opened and examined one by one every article in our possession. This great operation over, we got into a carriage, and entered on a most frightful road. Wherever we looked, we saw nothing but sentries and precipices: on one side was a deep abyss, on the other a stern-looking soldier. We proceeded thus amidst the precautions of war and the convulsions of nature, and never before had we seen so gloomy a spectacle.

At last we reached Longwood, and went to General Bertrand's; but he was with the Emperor. His Majesty had just received newspapers from London, and was perusing the columns of the Morning Chronicle, which spoke of me. He found there abundance of praise bestowed on the anatomist, but not a word about the physician; and he concluded that I was altogether a stranger to the profession, "a kind of Cuvier, to whom he would give his horse for dissection, but not trust the cure of his own foot." Such were the dispositions in which he was, when our arrival was announced to him. "Go," said he to the Grand Marshal, "and see what men they have sent me: observe particularly the physiologist," —Bertrand accordingly came out to us; but he had an appearance of restraint: he told Buonavita to follow him, and requested us to wait.

I did not know what to make of such a singular reception, and remained petrified with astonishment; and Vignali felt no less surprised. The General soon appeared again, and I followed him into an adjoining room. He requested me to sit down, and asked me how long it was since I had left Rome; whether I knew the Emperor's family; how were Madame Mère, the Cardinal, Lucien, Pauline, &c.; how it had happened that

I had been selected to come out to St. Helena, in what capacity I came, where I had practised, whether I had any letter or message for Napoleon from his family, what motive had induced me to leave Italy for this rock; whom I had seen on my way from Rome to London, what persons I had frequented in the latter capital, and what had been said to me. Having replied to all these questions, I had the honour of being introduced to the Countess, who was conversing with Dr. Verling and Abbé Buonavita. She received me very kindly, and asked me some questions relative to the countries we had passed through. Vignali's turn came next; and he having gone through the same ordeal of interrogatories, introduction, and reception, supper was served to us, and we were afterwards shown into our apartments. I was beginning to undress, when Count Bertrand came once more, and requested me to go to General Montholon, who had something to say to me. I went, and listened to what he said, utterly at a loss to account for the motive of so strange an interview. I however soon recovered my presence of mind, and replied, that a noble feeling of pride had alone prompted me to come to St. Helena; that I had been inspired with the ambition of becoming useful

to the greatest man of the age; that no sacrifice had been considered too great to serve the Emperor; and that if my services were not agreeable, I would make another, by embarking for Europe immediately. Having said this, I withdrew into my apartment; but fatigue and sleep were gone, —the interview had banished both. I met in my ante-chamber the cook Chandelier, who having no room yet, asked me to allow him to pass the night there. I could not close my eyes, and was curious to know whether he had met with the same kind of reception as I had. He told me in reply to my questions, that he had been welcomed by his comrades; but that they had asked him numerous questions concerning our journey, the persons we had seen, and the news we had heard. He added, that the Emperor had sent for him and Coursaut, and had enquired of them what was said at Rome of the choice of the physician and of the priests, what they had seen and heard of them at London, and what houses they frequented in that capital. It was now evident that I excited mistrust and suspicions, and that my character had been misrepresented; but how that had been done, was what I could not understand. Day appeared, and I found myself calmer, and resolved to wait pa-

tiently until the mystery should be unravelled. In the course of the morning I had a third visit from Count Bertrand: He begged me to give him a detailed written report, stating the place of my birth, my age, my family, and the towns where I had studied; and asked me how long and where I had practised, whether I had been attached to any service, and to what branch of the profession I had applied more particularly. I immediately drew up the statement required, and sent it to him, together with my diplomas, my papers, and the Cardinal's letter. Buonavita and Vignali were also obliged to produce a similar summary.

This was a sad reception after having travelled so far: but his Eminence in the midst of his grave occupations had not been able to devote a few moments to write either to the Emperor or to the Grand Marshal, and not any individual of the Emperor's family had made up for his neglect. Added to this the circumstance of our being sent by the English Government, recommended by the English Minister, and graciously received by the Governor, and there was more than enough to awaken suspicion. Another circumstance also concurred to give to the whole affair the appearance of an intrigue. The Cardinal

who had not had time to give us a letter of introduction, had however found leisure enough to concert the means of making Vignali Napoleon's physician; and to write to Count Las Cases for that purpose, requesting him to recommend the missionary to the Emperor. But Las Cases did not think proper to transform a priest into a physician, and contented himself with giving the Cardinal's letter to the Abbé, who had hastened to deliver it, little foreseeing the effect it would produce. Ultimately, however, every thing was arranged; we were Frenchmen and Corsicans, and could not in that double capacity be the agents of England. Napoleon therefore admitted us into his service.

This point settled, I prepared to fetch my baggage, which had remained on board; and Sir Hudson Lowe having so strongly protested that we should be allowed freely to go about the island, I thought of going alone; but the officer on duty at Longwood had received orders, and I was obliged to accept his offer to accompany me. I therefore went on board the Snipe closely watched, and every one of my movements strictly observed; but what was my surprise on finding our excellent captain in precisely the same situation!—"What, guards! Captain," said I to him.

"How is this? what accident has happened?"—"Oh that * * * * of a Governor!"—"What, Sir Hudson? Well..."—"He prevents me from going ashore and selling my goods."—"For what reason? How have you offended him?"—"My pigs and my claret disappear!"—"And your ducks?"—"Eat more than they are worth."—"But once more, what fault have you committed?"—"Those cursed books!"—"What, those religious tracts?"—"Religious, indeed! It is a treacherous snare, downright murder. Look at those pigs, at those planks; what a loss!"—"But those works were on pious subjects!"—"You thought so, and so did I when I took them; but it turns out that they are the books that cursed O'Meara has written against the Governor."—I left him bewailing his fate, and having landed my luggage, I returned to Longwood. All doubts and suspicions were now dispelled, and I received the following letter from Count Bertrand, informing me that I was appointed surgeon in ordinary to the Emperor:—

"Longwood, 22d September, 1819.

"M. ANTOMMARCHI,

"The Emperor accepts you as his surgeon, and allows you a salary of nine thousand francs

a-year. Your functions will commence as soon as you shall have taken the oath; for which purpose I request you will call upon me at a quarter past two.

"I have the honour to be,

"Sir,

"Your very obedient humble Servant,

"COUNT BERTRAND."

I accordingly repaired to the Grand Marshal's at the appointed hour, and made the engagement required of me. I was not to communicate or say any thing to the English, and I was to take especial care not to give them the least information respecting the progress of Napoleon's disorder. All I had myself heard and experienced, had taught me what people we had to deal with, and had not disposed me to be very confiding with them: I therefore swore that I would not repeat or communicate any thing; and I had the honour of being introduced to his Majesty.

The room was small and very dark, and Napoleon was in his bed, so that at first I did not see him. I approached silently, with a kind of religious awe: he perceived it, and addressing himself to me most graciously,—"Approach,

"*Capo Corsinaccio*,"* said he in Italian, the language he ever afterwards used in our conversation, "approach, that I may see you more "distinctly; and above all that I may hear you "better, for on this miserable rock I am become "quite deaf."—I approached, and Napoleon having cast upon me a look which seemed rather favourable, "I have," continued he, "been "very near your country in my youthful days. "I landed not far from Morsiglia, at the port "of Macinajo; from thence I went to Rogliano, "where I saw a fine house painted after the "Genoese fashion,—to Tomino and to Porticciolo. "I was on my way to Bastia; but, will you "believe it? I had the greatest trouble in the "world in finding a horse and a man willing to "accompany me. I, however, succeeded at last. "The skeleton of a horse they gave me could "hardly stand on its legs; but it was accus-"tomed to the steep and rugged roads we had "to pass, and I found it extremely useful. I "arrived at Bastia: I was very well satisfied "with my guide, and he had no reason to be "dissatisfied with me.

"The Cape is the most sterile part of all "Corsica; and yet its inhabitants are the best

* Cape-Corsican,—inhabitant of the Cape of Corsica.

"husbandmen and the most industrious traders
"in the whole island. Poor but intelligent, bad
"soldiers but excellent sailors, they are in general
"sober, peaceable, and honest. They enjoy pro-
"found peace, even when other districts are a
"prey to the most violent agitation. Their man-
"ners and habits are quite different from those of
"our countrymen who live in the mountains; and
"they tremble before the latter, and not without
"cause. The mild and placid disposition of the
"inhabitant of the plain cannot cope with the
"haughtiness and impetuosity of the mountain-
"eer. Generally speaking, your countrymen are
"poor: they work hard, they exhaust themselves
"in endeavouring to fertilize their soil, or rather
"their rocks; but their labour produces very
"little, and they find it difficult to earn a sub-
"sistence. My countrymen, on the contrary,
"fatigue themselves but little, or not at all;
"and if they are not rich, they at least lead a
"quiet, independent life, running about with
"their gun on their shoulder. But this is
"saying quite enough of a country which I
"shall never see again. How long is it since
"you were in Corsica?"—"Two years, Sire."—
"How old are you?"—"About thirty."—"Oh!
"oh! you might be my son. If I had known

"your mother, I should have left Macinajo, "and landed at Morsiglia."—"At Centuri?"— "Right, at Centuri: there is no port at Mor- "siglia. Is your mother still alive?"—"No, Sire, she died when I was yet in infancy."— "Was she pretty, graceful, bewitching?"— "She was a pretty woman, and an excellent mother."—"Just the thing! Oh I should "certainly have landed at Centuri, and should "have gone to Morsiglia to pay my court to an "amiable *Capo Corsina*, to Madame Antom- "marchi. How old is your father?"—"He is near seventy."—"He is a notary: Does he "sometimes, like his worthy colleagues, make "false acts, or forge wills?" I did not answer: he repeated the question, laughing louder.— "My father enjoys the esteem and confidence of the whole district wherein he lives."—"Oh, "if that is the case, there is nothing to be "said. Do you remember the period when I "conquered Italy for the first time?"—"I have a vague recollection of it."—"What enthusiasm! "what acclamations! what universal demon- "strations of joy! The population crowded to "meet me: I was their god, their idol; and they "have remained faithful to me. Probably you "scarcely remember, for you were then so young,

"my expedition to Egypt, my arrival and land-
"ing at Ajaccio, and at Frejus, and the trans-
"ports of joy with which I was greeted?"—"I recollect your unexpected appearance, which changed the face of Europe. I listened with admiration to what was related to me of General Bonaparte, and of the miracles he had performed. Your health was drunk, Sire, and the most ardent wishes were formed for your success. I have preserved a perfect recollection of the impression produced on my mind by the exultation of a whole nation, which had rested all its hopes in you."—"How old were you when you quitted "Corsica?"—"About fifteen."—"There are at "Leghorn some very rich *Capo Corsini*."—"Yes, Sire; some are become patricians, others have been made noblemen: the Grand Duke has treated them very well."—"Your stu-"died at Pisa?"—"I commenced my studies at Leghorn, and continued them at Pisa and Florence."—"At what period?"—"I was received a Doctor in Philosophy and Medicine at the University of Pisa in the month of March, 1808; I afterwards went to Florence, where I applied myself to anatomical researches, and was attached to the hospital of St. Marie-Neuve. In 1812 I obtained from the Imperial

University the diploma of surgeon; and the president appointed me Anatomical Prosector, attached to the Academy of Pisa.* I resided in that capacity at Florence, where I practised until my departure."—"Was the Grand Duchess "Eliza beloved in Tuscany?"—"She was both loved and feared."—"Did she do any thing to "conciliate the affection of her subjects?"—"She cherished the fine arts, extended her protection to science, and governed solely with a view to the public welfare."—"She was adored "at Lucca, where she had formed good and use-"ful establishments. I believe she is very rich. "The Tuscans have been pleased to see their "former Grand Duke again; do you not think "so?"—"His sway is very mild, and he is beloved by the people whom he governs."—"With the exception of the speculators of Leg-"horn, to whom nothing comes amiss, the Tus-"cans are an excellent people; enlightened, in-"dustrious, skilled in agriculture, they occupy "the finest country of Italy. But what motive "has prompted you to forsake the delightful "residence of Florence, your patrons, your "employment, your occupations, for this misc-

See note at p. 3.

"rable rock? What considerations have in-
"duced you to come and share my exile?"—
"Your Majesty may have presaged: I seek neither gold nor favours; I have set no price on my services, I have stipulated no conditions. It was proposed to me to approach your person, and that glory sufficed me: I desire no other reward."—"But why, before you agreed to the "proposal of your friend Colonna, did you not "secure to yourself a competency from my "family?"—"Pecuniary advantages are inadequate compensations in my mind; glory alone could determine me."—"Glory is a very fine "thing; but if, as it very nearly happened, you "had been sent away, what would you have "done? In what an embarrassing situation you "would have found yourself!"—"Such a reception would have deeply affected me; but still I should have the satisfaction of having been on this miserable rock. My profession would every where have placed me above want: my only regret would have been to see my actions misjudged, and my motives misunderstood."—"You are a Corsican, and that "consideration has saved you; but still you "might not have suited me—you might have "been dismissed; and if so, what would have

" been the consequence of your imprudent com-
" pliance?"—" These reflections are just; but they did not occur to me."—" Your lucky star
" has made all right. But I am sorry this
" affair was entrusted to the Cardinal, and that
" he has behaved as he has done. I ask him
" to send me a surgeon, and he selects you: you
" are young, but still he selects you; and at
" the same time he writes a letter to Las
" Cases, which the priests have delivered to me,
" in which he insists upon my employing Vignali
" only: and yet I am very certain Vignali has
" not studied more than three years, though he
" himself told me four. I must confess that
" letter displeased me exceedingly. Neither
" my mother nor the Cardinal has written to
" inform me of your departure, and I mistrusted
" every individual composing your expedition.
" You must have felt surprised and hurt at the
" repeated visits of the Grand Marshal, and at
" the questions he addressed to you."—" Very much indeed, Sire: I felt confused and humbled. I could not account for the existence of the suspicions entertained against me."—
" Think no more about it; you shall be my
" surgeon; consider me as your father. I have
" informed Abbé Vignali, that I will not allow

"him to practise at Longwood. He shall not "try his skill upon any body, not even the "lowest Chinese. Let him apply himself to "his ecclesiastical duties—that is his profession. "I have told him this through the medium of "his superior, Buonavita, an excellent old man, "whom I scarcely saw—at Elba. I very much "fear he is come out here to be buried. I re- "commend him to your care; he deserves our "good will and protection. I have blamed him "very much for having accepted the Cardinal's "proposal; at his age, infirm and feeble as he is, "a man should not undertake so long and perilous "a voyage. After having pondered a long while "the Archbishop sends me a very respectable "man, no doubt, but one so broken with age "and infirmities that he cannot be of any ser- "vice to me. The Grand Duke must have been "delighted to see a person, employed in his ser- "vice, come out to try the resources of his art in "administering relief to me on this rock."—"I should suppose so, Sire; you have been so kind to him."—"I was very well acquainted "with him. Maria Louisa was partial to him, "and he was not insensible to the charms of "the Queen of Naples. I have always consi- "dered him a worthy prince. How long did

"you remain at Rome?"—"About two months."—"You had time to know that city well. I "am really sorry not to have seen it. I in- "tended to restore it to its former splendour, to "make it the capital of Italy; but fate had "ordered otherwise. Part of my family re- "sides there. The Pope is a good old man, "whom I have always treated well. Now "speak to me candidly; give me some intelli- "gence respecting my relations; begin by Ma- "dame Mère, La Signora Letizia."—"She is not disheartened by adversity; she bears it with courage, resignation, and dignity."—"Does she "receive company? does she go out in the "world? What kind of a life does she lead?"—"A very retired life: the circle of her ac- quaintance is very small—it consists of a few intimate friends only. Those of her children who are at Rome are very attentive to her; but all her wishes, all her thoughts, are at St. Helena: she only waits for a single word to brave the dangers of the sea, and fold you in her arms."—"She has been all her life an excellent "woman, a mother unequalled; she has always "loved me most tenderly. When you left "her she was very much affected, was she not?"—"At first she could scarcely suppress her

emotion, but she soon recovered and shewed a courage and strength of mind quite superhuman."—"I am certain she would not have "dreaded the fatigues you have undergone. "Does she frequent any society?"—"She goes sometimes to his Eminence."—"Does the Car- "dinal see her frequently?"—"Several times every day."—"And her sons?"—"Almost every day."—"And Pauline?"—"Not so often; her indisposition keeps her at home."—"What "do you think of her complaint?"—"I do not know the nature of it."—"You know per- "fectly well every individual of my family resid- "ing at Rome, do you not? Pray how are "they? What do they say about me?"—"All their thoughts are centred in St. Helena; they only aspire after your deliverance."—"State to "me with precision all that every one of them "has commissioned you to say to me. What "did my mother say?"—"That she herself, her children, and her fortune, are at your disposal; that on the slightest intimation, she would give up all she possesses, even though she should endure the greatest misery."—"And Prince "Canino?"—"That he had arranged with Joseph, that they should each of them come and spend three years with your Majesty, if you

did not disapprove of it."—"And Pauline?"—"That she only awaited the orders of your Majesty to hasten to you."—"We will think of it." He smiled, and remained silent for a few minutes, and then added,—"No; I shall not "allow any of the members of my family to "come and expose themselves to the insults of "the English, and witness the indignities offered "to me by this ****. It is quite enough that I "am obliged to endure them." Then suddenly passing to another subject—"Is La Signora Letizia fresh as ever?"—"She still looks very well."—"And Pauline, is she still young and "handsome?"—"She is."—"She never had "any other occupation but dress and pleasure. "Do Louis and Lucien meet?"—"Frequently, at the house of Madame Mère."—"Do they "receive company at home?"—"Prince Canino has a few select friends, but Louis leads a life of retirement."—"They say he is very much "given to devotion, do you believe it?"—"I have heard it: he is even thought a bigot." The Emperor laughed: "What do you think "of his health?"—"It is in a most deplorable state; remedies are henceforth unavailing."—"What a handsome young man he was at the "time of my first expedition in Italy! He has

" been lost by his timidity. How unfortunate " it was that I was not informed in time! He " would have preserved his health, he would " have fulfilled his destiny, his sufferings would " not have rendered him incapable of following " the path of glory, and he would have shared " in our triumphs. How many sons has Prince " Canino ?"—I told him. " How many daugh- " ters ?"—I told him also. " Whom did you see " whilst you were at Rome ?"—I named all the persons whose society I had frequented in that city. " Is the Cardinal still an admirer of pictures ? " Does he still seek after them ?"—" He receives every morning coaches full of them, he examines them in his anti-room, purchases some and underrates the others. It is a fancy which costs him immense sums of money."—" When did " you leave Rome?"—" The 25th of February." —" How did you travel?"—" By short stages in a coach which took us as far as Antwerp."— " Did Madame Letizia give you a great deal " of money?"—" Two hundred Napoleons, and a draft for twelve thousand francs on her banker in London."—" She is, I believe, the richest of " the family. I used always to reproach her for " being too moderate in her expenses. Do you " know whether she expends much in charities

"at Rome?"—"I do not."—"Did you see "Maria Louisa when you passed through "Parma?"—"She had left Parma, and we were strictly enjoined not to make the object of our mission known."—"Do you know whe- "ther she was in correspondence with my "mother, or some of my family?"—"Madame Mère has written to her twice, but without receiving any answer."—"Because she is not "allowed to answer. Who are the persons you "have seen during the course of your journey?" I named them, and stated to him what they had said to me. "Did you see at Frankfort Princess Julia?"—"She received me with that kindness and affability which are natural to her."—"How are her two daughters?"—"Tall, handsome, and fresh as roses."—"One of them "is, I believe, going to be married to one of "Lucien's sons; have you not heard any thing "about it?"—"The Princess asked me several questions respecting the eldest son, and I easily guessed the motive of so lively an interest."—"I must confess that such a marriage would "please me. So you were well received?"—"I could not have been better."—"She has more "delicacy of feeling and sentiment than any "woman I know; and it is impossible to have

"a better heart. You have seen Las Cases?"—"Yes, Sire."—"How is he?"—"He is seriously ill."—"Have you seen his son Emanuel?"—"He was at Strasburg."—"The Priests have "told me, if I recollect right, that you had "not met with any obstacle on your way from "Rome to London?"—"None whatever, Sire."—"When did you arrive in London?"—"On the 19th of April."—"How long did you re-"main there?"—"We left it only on the 9th of July."—"Whom did you see there more "particularly?"—"Physicians and professional men, chiefly those who have practised within the tropics."—"When did you call upon Lord "Bathurst?"—"Two days after our arrival."—"What questions did he ask you?"—"He spoke to us about Rome, the Cardinal, Madame Mère, Prince Canino; and asked if they really believed that you were ill."—"What did you reply?"—"That there could be no doubt on that subject, "and that the reports of O'Meara and Stokoe "did not admit of any."—"What did he say to "that?"—"That those reports were not correct; that he had just received positive intelligence that you enjoyed perfect health; and that we might write to Rome, and communicate that intelligence."—"How many times did

"you see him."—Three or four."—"Did you go "to see Lord Holland?"—"Yes; Prince Canino had given me a letter of introduction to his Lordship."—"Were you well received? Did "Lady Holland receive you well?"—"Perfectly well."—"Does his Lordship live in London, or "in the country?"—"He resides at a short distance from the capital."—"You saw O'Meara "frequently, did you not?"—"Every day."—"What did he say to you about me and my "disorder?"—I recapitulated to him the contents of the reports.—"Is he satisfied with "me?"—"Perfectly, Sire."—"Relate to me in "detail all that you saw and did during your "residence in London; name the persons you "became acquainted with, and those you frequented."—I gave him the desired account; he afterwards continued his questions. "London is a very large city, is it not?"—"It is; and as remarkable for its population as for its size."—"Have you been at Paris?"—"I have never been in France."—"Enough. Now, go "and see General Montholon; ask for the "doctor who attends him, and consult with "him before he is recalled. Enquire also what "other persons he attended, in order that you "may visit them after he is gone. Ascertain

"what are the diseases prevalent in this climate,
"and particularly on the spot where we are,
"and do not forget to ask the doctor what
"curative method he adopts. This island is
"quite another world; you require the advice
"of those who have studied it. I have con-
"stantly refused to see your predecessor; but I
"nevertheless think him capable of giving you
"every information necessary to ensure success
"in the exercise of your profession. Try to
"persuade him to remain a few days longer,
"that you may acquire all the information it is
"essential for you to obtain."

After a few hours had elapsed I was again sent for. The Emperor was in his drawing-room, where a single wax-candle hardly gave sufficient light to distinguish the objects. He came towards me, took me by the ears, and said laughing,—"You thought I had lost all my strength "in this horrible climate!" I was struck with astonishment and remained motionless, when I heard some person laugh close to me. I looked round and saw it was the Grand Marshal, who was standing behind us near the fire-place. Napoleon asked me some questions relative to the subjects we had been conversing upon a few hours before; and then began to speak about

anatomy, physiology, and the phenomena of generation. His observations were learned, just, and precise, abounding with new views and ideas on the subjects he was discussing. He made me undergo a rigorous examination in the shape of a conversation which lasted above an hour. I was fortunate enough to answer his questions in a manner that satisfied him, and he expressed his satisfaction in very kind and highly flattering terms, after which he bade me retire. Count Bertrand was present during this long interview, but did not say a single word.

23d. Sept.—I went to see the Emperor, and found him lying on a camp bed. The room was lighted so that I could observe the progress of the disorder. His ear was hard, his complexion unhealthy, his eyes livid, the white part of the eye* of a reddish hue tinged with yellow, the whole body excessively fat, and the skin very pale. I examined the tongue, and found it slightly covered with a whitish substance. He was seized with violent and prolonged sneezing, sometimes accompanied by a dry cough, followed by a viscous expectoration; the nature of which varied from one moment to the other. The

* Conjunctiva.

nostrils were discoloured and obstructed; the secretion of saliva abundant at intervals, and the abdomen rather hard. Pulse low but regular, giving about sixty pulsations per minute. All these symptoms appeared to me alarming. I examined more minutely, and observed that part of the left lobe of the liver, which corresponds to the epigastric region, was hard and painful on being touched. The vesicle of the bile was full, resisting pressure and projecting outwards in the right hypogastric region, near the cartilage of the third false rib. Vague pains on the right side about the regions of the loins and ribs; fixed pain more or less acute round the breast, and sensation of extreme uneasiness in the right shoulder: on pressing the pit of the stomach,* breathing was rendered more difficult. Napoleon also complained of a pain which varied in intensity, and which had long affected the right hypochondriac region. It was internal, and he endeavoured to indicate precisely the seat of it, by saying it was *at the depth of two inches.* For some days past he had been without appetite, with frequent nausea and vomiting, sometimes acrid, sometimes bilious.

* Anticardium or Scrobiculus cordis.

The urinary evacuations though frequent were natural, and abundant perspirations took place every day.

Whilst I was analyzing these symptoms, the Emperor's questions were unceasing. They were sometimes gloomy, and sometimes enlivened by pleasantry. Goodness, indignation, and merriment were alternately expressed by his words and in his countenance. "Well, "Doctor," said he, "what do you think of it? "Am I yet destined to disturb for a long time "the digestion of the rulers of the earth?"— "You will outlive them, Sire."—"I think so: "they will not succeed in putting the fame of "our victories under the ban of Europe; it "will be handed down from age to age; it will "proclaim the conquerors and the conquered— "those that were generous, and those that "were not; and posterity will judge: I do not "dread its decisions."—"The glory of your life is immutably secured, Sire; and your name will never excite the admiration of the world, without recalling to mind at the same time the recollection of those inglorious warriors so basely united together against a single man. But you are not yet near the term of your existence—

you have still a long space before you."—"No, "Doctor; the work of England is fast hastening "to its consummation; I cannot last long in "this horrible climate."—"Your excellent constitution, Sire, will resist its pernicious effects." —"The strength of my constitution was equal "to the strength of mind with which nature "has gifted me; but the passage from a life of "so much activity to one of complete reclusion "has destroyed it. I am grown fat, I have lost "all energy; the spring is unbent." I did not seek to combat an opinion unfortunately too well founded, but changed the subject of the conversation, and having recourse to one of those transitions of which I already knew the effect, I began to discourse upon the hopes and expectations of Europe, and asked Napoleon whether he would betray his own glory, and become an accomplice in the criminal deed that England was perpetrating on his person.— "Well, be it so," said he; "I like your frank- "ness, your independent spirit: you have "given up every thing to come and attend "me;—it is but fair that I should also do some- "thing. I therefore resign myself; let physic "command, I submit to its decisions and en-

" trust my health into your hands. But for that " purpose I think it right to give you an ac- " count of the habits I have contracted, and of " the affections to which I am subject.

" I am habitually costive—I have been so from " childhood, and the habit grows daily stronger " and more painful. But for baths and enemas I " could not endure it, and I am even sometimes " obliged in addition to these remedies, to take " emollient beverages and herb broths, and to " observe a diet: sometimes even all these " means are ineffectual, and I am obliged to " have recourse to my heroic remedy, the *Soupe* " *à la reine*. That composition of milk, yolk of " egg, and sugar, produces upon me the effect " of a lenient purgative, and never fails to ad- " minister relief; it is to this day the only " medicine I have employed. The urinary " functions have never been satisfactorily per- " formed; I have always experienced great " difficulty in that respect, and the more so " as the want was more frequently felt. How- " ever, this sometimes slumbered and gave me " every night some hours of repose, which satis- " fied nature, and I gained the time that indo- " lence would have absorbed. I never consulted " a physician. At present I am less saving of

"time; and my sufferings are intolerable. The "hours at which I satisfy the wants of nature "are very irregular. I sleep or eat according "to the time, the circumstances, or the situation "in which I find myself. In general my sleep "is placid and peaceful, and should suffering "or any accident interrupt it, I jump out of "bed, call for a light, walk about, work, "and fix my mind upon some object. Some- "times I remain in the dark, I pass into "another room, go into another bed, or stretch "myself on a sofa. I am up at two, three, or "four o'clock in the morning, and I call some- "body to keep me company, and talk of re- "collections or affairs until daylight. As soon "as it appears I go out, I take a walk, and im- "mediately that the sun shows itself I come in- "doors and get into bed again; where I remain "more or less as the day announces itself more "or less favourably. If it turns out bad, and I "experience irritation or uneasiness, I try the "experiment I have already mentioned to you "—I change and vary, I go from the bed to the "sofa, from the sofa to the bed, until I find some "coöl place, and then I am better. I shall not "describe to you my morning dress—it has "nothing to do with my sufferings, and besides,

"I will not deprive you of the pleasure of ad-
"miring it. These beautiful evolutions lead me
"on till nine or ten o'clock, and sometimes
"later: I then order breakfast, which I some-
"times eat in the bath, but more frequently in
"the garden. Either Bertrand or Montholon
"keeps me company, and sometimes both. The
"*police* of the table is always the province of
"the physician, and it is therefore proper that
"I give you a description of mine. It consists
"of a soup, two dishes of meat, one dish of
"vegetables, and sallad when I can get it. My
"beverage is half a bottle of claret diluted with
"a great deal of water, and a small quantity
"pure at the end of the dinner. Sometimes,
"when I am tired of claret, I take champaign
"instead, and that is an infallible way of exciting
"the stomach." I asked him what was the kind of vegetable he ate most frequently. "Potatoes,
"lentils, peas, French beans, and cauliflowers,"
said he; "but do you know that we put
"the whole island in a tumult by asking for
"lentils? They would not believe us; we only
"asked as a joke, but not to make any use of
"them. Lentils! lentils were not food for men.
"The cook insisted, was laughed at, and re-
"fused; and with difficulty obtained that some

" should be sent for from the Cape." I was desirous of knowing in what manner his meat was dressed, and whether it was made rich and strongly spiced. " It consists," said he, " of " chops or a leg of mutton, of which I like the " part that is most roasted and brownest. I am " fond of plain cooking, and do not like cooks " who are only wits in their art, *(les cuisiniers* " *qui ne font que de l'esprit.)* A good *étouffé* " *à la Genoise*, a *pilau à la Milanaise*, and *tail-* " *lérans à la Corse*, are preferable, in my opinion, " to all the wonders of the art of Beauvilliers."

I expressed to him my admiration of such uncommon temperance, and he resumed: " On " our marches with the army of Italy I always " had some wine, some bread, and a roasted fowl, " fastened to my saddle-bow, and that provision " sufficed for the whole day: I may even say, " that I often shared it with my suite. I thus " saved time, and economised on the table for the " field of battle. I eat fast and masticate very " little; my meals therefore do not consume " much of my time. This is not what you " must approve, I know; but in the situation in " which I am placed, what need have I to " trouble myself about care and mastication? " I am attacked with a *chronic hepatitis*, a dis-

" order endemic in this horrible climate. I " must fall a prey to it—I must expiate on this " rock the glory I have shed over France, and " the blows I have inflicted upon England. " And see how they proceed! It is now more " than a year since they have deprived me of all " medical assistance. I have not been allowed " to have a physician in whom I had confi- " dence, and have been debarred from the right " of trying the resources of art. * *

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* * General Montholon was " ill, and he refused to communicate with Ber- " trand, and wished to open a correspondence " direct with me. He sent me his satellites " twice a day: Reade, Wynyard, his confiden- " tial officers, beset these miserable cabins, and " wanted to penetrate into my apartments; " but I caused the door to be barricaded, " loaded my guns and my pistols, and have kept " them so ever since, and swore that I would

" blow out the brains of the first that violated
" my asylum. They then retired, vociferating
" that they wanted to see Napoleon Bonaparte,
" and that they should find means to oblige
" Bonaparte to appear. I, then thought those
" disgraceful scenes at an end, but they were re-
" peated every day with greater violence, and I
" was assailed with threats, vociferations, and
" letters full of abuse. My servants threw
" those papers into the fire, but exasperation
" had reached the highest pitch, and a cata-
" strophe might ensue from one moment to ano-
" ther: never had I been so much exposed. It
" was the 16th of August, and these outrages
" had lasted ever since the 11th: I at last
" sent to inform the Governor that my patience
" was exhausted, and my mind fully made up
" to dispatch the first of his people who should
" pass the threshold of my door. This warning
" had its due effect, and put an end to these
" insulting proceedings. It is an additional
" act of cruelty on the part of the English Go-
" vernment to have selected such a man; but
" iniquity seeks iniquity, and guesses where it
" is to be found; and Ministers never me-
" ditate any atrocity without meeting with

"some corsair ready to assist them in the "execution. I freely and voluntarily abdicated "in favour of my son and of the Constitution; "and freely and voluntarily bent my steps to- "wards England, where I wished to live in re- "tirement, and under the protection of its laws. "Its laws! Does aristocracy know any law? "Is there a crime it will hesitate to commit; or "a right it will scruple to trample under foot? "Its chiefs have all lain prostrate before my "eagles; to some I gave crowns out of the "fruit of my victories; I replaced others on "their thrones, from which victory had hurled "them; I shewed clemency, magnanimity to- "wards all; and all have betrayed me, desert- "ed me, and basely contributed to rivet my "chains. I am at the mercy of a freebooter."

I endeavoured to calm the Emperor's agitation. He had not been out for eighteen months; I represented to him the dangers to which he exposed himself by so prolonged a state of inactivity, and requested him not to remain pent up in his apartment, but to come out and breathe the open air. "No," said he; "insults have "long confined me to these cabins, and now "want of strength prevents me from leaving "them. Examine that leg, see whether you

"find any thing that ails it; I feel that it gives "way under me." I looked, and having observed and examined the whole of the right side, I acquired the painful certainty that it was weaker than the left. "You feel too gently," said he; "press harder, and tell me whether "nature is in league with this Calabrian, and "whether the climate will soon yield up to the "Minister the corpse he waits for!"—"Nothing, Sire, is to be seen or felt; it is only a temporary weakness which will soon be removed."

The Emperor had spoken to me of a protest which I felt a curiosity to see: it was shewn to me, and was that of the 16th of August, 1819.*

24th Sept.—I saw the Emperor at ten o'clock, A.M. He was still in bed, being weak and languid after having passed a bad night. He is tormented by vague sensations of pain, and experiences one in the interior of the right breast which never leaves him. I advised him to take a bath, and a sedative draught, and to use frictions with a liniment composed of ammonia and opium.

At two o'clock the Emperor was better,

* Which see in O'Meara's "Napoleon in Exile," vol. II. Appendix, p. 514.

though still in bed. He began to converse about Italy, enumerating the plans and views he had formed respecting that country; and mentioning the great men it has produced. He discussed the merit of Volta, Spallanzani, Aldini; and suddenly addressing himself to me,—"You do not speak to me of Mascagni," said he; "you have published the posthumous "works of Mascagni; I must see them. I am "anxious to admire those plates, of which the "English papers have spoken in such high "terms." I showed them to him. He laid them before him, examined them, discussed the subjects they represented, questioned me respecting them, and took so lively an interest in this representation of the human frame, that five o'clock came before he perceived how time had passed. "Two hours of anatomy," said he, "for a man who never could bear the sight "of a dead body!—Ah! Doctor, what are you "thinking about? But it is impossible to write "or to execute better. You are a seducer; "you will soon persuade me that pills are plea- "sant things to take."

25th.—The Emperor continues to be better. He has had a good night. I ordered another bath. I presented myself again at three o'clock

and was introduced.—"Well, Doctor," said he; "what is your opinion respecting me?—Am I "to live or to die? Tell me candidly what you "think?"—"I think that your Majesty is not yet arrived at the end of your career; other destinies await you!"—"Ah, ah! Doctor, true as "a physician, I see; but I will oblige you to be "sincere. You possess the skill of Corvisart, and "you must adopt his rough unceremoniousness. "You keep a journal of my complaint, do you "not?"—"Yes, Sire."—"Well, I will write it "under your dictation; or you shall transcribe "it under mine. You will then no longer have "it in your power to brighten the prospects of "the future; I shall know what I am about; I "shall be able to compare each day what I feel "and what I suffer, with what I have felt and "suffered before. You will no longer deceive "me. Doctor, you are caught!"—"But, Sire . . ." "But! It is a settled thing; I shall write "or dictate my own bulletins. Have you not "brought me some books?"—"We have some, Sire."—"What are they?"—"I do not know; it was not I who purchased them."—"I warn "you that I will see every one of them!"—"But, Sire, some libels may have slipped in amongst

them!"—"Poh! the sun has no more spots! "The herd of libellists has exhausted its pas- "ture: let me see every thing!"

A cart was advancing towards Longwood, and I was following it with my eyes through the window, to ascertain whether it contained the boxes of books.—I found that it did; and told the Emperor. "They are most welcome," said he; "I shall be relieved from the weight "of a few hours! Let them be brought into "the drawing-room, I will see them opened."

The boxes were brought, broken open, and some books were taken out of them, which Aly was going to give to the Emperor. "No!" said Napoleon, "that is not what I want! Look "into the box—examine it carefully—make "haste!—a package sent from Europe must "contain something else: books are not the "first things a father has to look at." He was right; we presently found a picture sent to him by Prince Eugene. He received it with transports of joy; pressed it to his lips; and gazing upon it for some time, with tears in his eyes—"Dear boy!" exclaimed he, "if "he does not fall a victim to some political atro- "city, he will not be unworthy of his father!

"But what is the matter with you? Why do "you not continue to unpack?" We had all stopped, and stood in an attitude of religious awe. We shared his emotion; we experienced his alarms; we were breathless. However, we set to work again; the servants took out the books, and Napoleon passed them in review, and examined them. He had hoped to find "*De l'Allemagne*," and "*Polybius;*" but, unfortunately, neither of those works was in the boxes: they had been filled without choice or discrimination, and hardly contained any thing but works which they already possessed at St. Helena. Napoleon was much grieved at this, and repeatedly said to me, "Why did you not devote some twenty thou- "sand francs to make these purchases?—My "mother would have paid them; and you would "have administered consolation to me by bring- "ing me some books. If, at least, I had 'Poly- "bius!' but, perhaps, it will reach me from some "other quarter."—The work did reach him a short time before his death, through the kindness of Lady Holland; but not so the work of Madame de Staël—he died without having read it. Some bundles of newspapers were next taken

out of the box. "Ah!" said the Emperor, "this will bring up the arrears of my informa- "tion about the state of affairs. It is curious "enough to see the wise measures which were to "cancel the recollection of my tyranny! Poor "Europe! what convulsions are preparing for "it!"—"Here, Sire, is your correspondence." "—Unpublished! that, at least, is not the con- "ception of a libellist; it has not been falsified, "altered, and carried to Vienna.—Egypt! "we were all young then; we played with "death; we only thought of victory;—the "period of defections had not yet arrived."

"Alexandria, 5th Fructidor, Anno VI.

"To General Bonaparte:—

"You would be unjust, Citizen-general, if you were to construe into a proof of weakness or discouragement, the vehemence with which I have exposed our wants to you. As I have already told you, the event of the 14th* has only produced indignation and thirst for vengeance in the minds of the troops. For my part, it matters little where I am to live or

* The first battle of Aboukir.

die, provided I live for the glory of our arms, and die as I shall have lived! Rely, therefore, upon me in all this concourse of circumstances, as well as upon those whom you may place under my orders."

"Such were the sentiments of brave Kleber! "—At a later period he suffered himself to "be misled by intrigue; but his heart was "truly French. He never would have cove- "nanted with the emigrants. He never would "have disowned our eagles. I am glad to have "this collection; it will refresh my recollec- "tion; I shall increase it—add notes to it. "But what boxes have you there? Eau de "Cologne! Send it to Madame Bertrand; I "commission you, Doctor, to deliver it. Ano- "ther!—it is for you. Here are numerous "duplicate copies of books; I give them up to "the priests."

The last box had been broken open: it contained the vases and church ornaments. "Stop!" said Napoleon; "this is the property of St. "Peter; have a care who touches it; send "for the Abbés.—But talking of Abbés, do "you know that the Cardinal is a poor crea- "ture?—He sends me missionaries and propa-

" gandists, as if I were a penitent; and as if " a whole string of their Eminences had not " always attended at my chapel. I will do " what he ought to have done: I possess the " right of investiture, and I shall use it. Abbé!" (Buonavita was just entering the room,) " I " give you the episcopal mitre."—" Sire! . . . ." " I restore it to you; you shall wear it in " spite of the heretics: they will not again " take it from you."—" But, Sire! . . . ." " I " cannot add to it so rich a benefice as that " of Valencia, which Suchet had given you; " but at any rate your see shall be secure " from the chances of battles.—I appoint you " Bishop of . . . . . let me see, of the Jum- " na. — The vast countries through which " that river flows, were on the point of en- " tering into alliance with me. — All was in " readiness; all were going to march; we " were about to give the finishing blow to Eng- " land; when one man—I dare not call him a " Frenchman,—upset the whole scheme. Abbé, " it is understood; I will have you wear the epis- " copal insignia.—I insist upon it: they com- " mand respect and veneration. You will strike " with awe all the heretics that surround you. " General Montholon, procure from James-

" Town, or the Cape, what is necessary to dress " the Abbé!"—Unfortunately the general could not succeed; neither of those places is Catholic, and neither red nor violet is in request. The good Abbé remained, therefore, modestly attired in the *bure** of the missionary, in spite of his double promotion!

It now remained to be settled how the chapel should be arranged, where it should be, and how the altar should be erected and fixed. The missionary could not at all conceive how all that was to be done. " I will tell you," said the Emperor; "I will not have any service except on " Sundays, and the holidays acknowledged by " the Concordate; on those days I will give you " up the dining-room, and you shall say mass in " it on a moveable altar which will be taken " away immediately afterwards. You are old " and infirm, I therefore choose the hour the " most convenient for you; you shall say mass " between nine and ten o'clock. We have the " *chef-d'œuvre* to supply us with all the props " and boards that will be required. You will " take from it the rafters, the traverses, and all " that you may think useful for your purpose;

* A dark coarse woollen stuff.

" and throw the remainder of that ill-shaped " construction into some corner of the garden. " Did you ever see a more singular kind of " bed?* Every thing moves in that absurd " machine. It is a tottering fabric, where the " help of a ladder is required to get at a mouse- " trap. British taste alone could be delivered " of such a conception!"

26th.—The Emperor much the same. He had passed the night in perusing the newspapers, and was very tired. I recommended rest, some food, and a bath in the course of the day. " Very well, Doctor," said he, looking at the picture of the King of Rome, which he still held in his hands: " Here, place this " admirable child by the side of his mother!... " There ... to the right, nearer to the mantel- " piece. You know her by her blooming looks— " that is Maria Louisa: she holds her son in her " arms! And that other picture, you know it " also? It is the Imperial Prince. You do not " guess what graceful hand held the needle that " sketched this representation of his features?— " It was that of his mother. That picture before " which you now stand, is Maria Louisa again;

* That sent out by Government.

" the two others are portraits of Josephine.—I " loved her tenderly. You are examining that " large clock?—It served to wake the Great " Frederick early in the morning. I took it at " Potsdam: it was all Prussia was worth. " Move the bust of the Imperial Prince to the " left, it is too much to the right. The orna- " ments of my mantel-piece are, as you see, not " very sumptuous.—The bust of my son, two " candlesticks, two gilt cups, two phials of *Eau* " *de Cologne*, a pair of scissars to cut nails with, " and a small glass, are all it contains.—This is " no longer the splendour of the Tuileries. But " no matter; if I am decayed in my power, I " am not in my glory: I preserve all my re- " collections. Few sovereigns have immolated " themselves for their people: a sacrifice so " immense is not without its charms." In a few minutes I withdrew.

I shall here take up and continue the description which the Emperor was giving of his furniture, in the conversation just related. At one end of the room, to the right, was a small camp-bed of iron, quite plain, with four silver eagles and silk curtains. Two small windows, both without any ornament, gave light to the apartment. Between them stood a scrutoire,

upon which was a large dressing-case, and before it was an arm-chair, in which Napoleon sat when he was studiously engaged, and when he came out of the bath. A second chair was placed to the left of it; and on the right was the sword which the Emperor wore at Austerlitz. The door leading into the bath-room was concealed by an old screen, next to which was an equally old sofa, covered with calico. Upon that sofa it was that Napoleon usually reclined, and sought shelter from dampness and the gnats; his legs thrust into a sack of flannel, and a shabby table by the side of him, on which were his books or his breakfast. The second room was quite as good as the first. Like it, it was built of mud; its size was 7 feet in height, 15 in length, and 12 in breadth; it had one window, and opened into the garden, and into the dining-room. Its furniture consisted of a camp-bed, several guns, two Chinese screens, a chest of drawers, two small tables, on one of which were books and on the other, bottles; a chair and a magnificent wash-hand stand, brought from the Elysée. Such was the miserable habitation in which the Emperor was pent up: a noble specimen of British magnificence and sumptuousness.

27th.—The Emperor has had a restless night: he had been reading for several hours, and was still reading, when I saw him at ten o'clock in the morning. He complained of vague pains in the abdomen, which an enema soon dispelled. I advised his Majesty to cease reading, and to take a bath, and a little exercise.

The dampness of the two rooms was excessive; it attacked and destroyed every thing. The paltry nankeen which served as tapestry was hanging in rags against the walls. We took it down, and endeavoured to place before the Emperor's eyes something more pleasing, by putting up in its stead some muslin we had purchased, and which we adorned with some fine birds of Egypt, of which we had a collection painted on paper. We grouped our paintings, and placed in the midst of them an eagle, which was to protect and guide them. Napoleon smiled on seeing that symbol of victory. "Dear eagle!" said he, "it would still "soar on high, if those whom it covered with "its wings had not arrested its flight!"

When I returned into my apartment I found an invitation from the Governor. He had heard of the anatomical plates I had brought with

me, and wished to see them. I shewed them to him. He looked at them, examined them, turned from one to the other and back again, and I thought I observed in the eagerness with which he opened them, a kind of pre-occupation of mind, which alarmed me. But I was wrong: his Excellency had become suddenly enamoured of physiology, and that was all; he harboured no evil thought, at least he did not manifest it outwardly; on the contrary, I heard nothing but encomiums upon the beauty of the work, and nothing else was talked of.

28th.—The Emperor a little better. I ordered a bath and exercise as I had done the day before. "Whilst you were still in bed, Doctor," said he, "I was following your prescription.— "I had risen at day-break; and was walking out "to take a little fresh air; and I am now turning "over some ideas which have occurred to me, "respecting an operation in which my orders "were not well executed." The flannel bag was on the ground, and Napoleon on his legs; so that I had an opportunity of admiring his costume. It consisted of a white dressing-gown, a pair of very wide white trowsers with feet, red slippers, a Madras shawl round his head, no cravat, and the shirt-collar open. I

examined this singular dress; the Emperor perceived it, and said, laughing, "Ah! I see "what arrests your attention; and to punish you "for your want of respect for my dress, I close "my door against your drugs until to-morrow. "I have some algebraical calculations to make."

29th.—The Emperor very much dejected; and complained, to repeat his own expression, of a *deep pain in the liver*. He continues to read, consents but with reluctance to use exercise, and takes a bath.

The carpet of his room was strewed with books; there were some round the bed, some in the middle of the apartment, some close to the walls. I could not understand why they were thus scattered about, and asked the cause of this confusion.—"The Emperor has read all night."—"Well?"—"When he wishes to read, he covers his bed with books, takes them up, turns them over, and throws them away when he has done with them."—"But why not pick them up?"—"Because he was still reading."—"Did that prevent its being done?"—"As long as the Emperor holds a book in his hand he will not suffer any body to interrupt him. Good works are allowed to slide down on the floor, indifferent ones are disdainfully pushed aside, and

bad ones thrown against the wall; but it is only when the Emperor is out of the room, or in his bath, that it is allowed to touch them."

30th.—The Emperor somewhat better. I recommend the use of mercury both internally and externally; but he refuses it, and takes a bath.

1st and 2d Oct.—The Emperor in the same state. I again proposed mercurial preparations, and recommended exercise.

3d.—The Emperor found himself better, and agreed to take a little exercise. I accompanied him into the garden, and was speaking to him of the care his health required, and of the approaching cessation of his sufferings.—"I believe you, Doctor," said he; "the climate has "been well chosen; it will not let its victim "escape!—But you, how do you find yourself "in your situation?—Are the nine thousand "francs assigned to you, sufficient to satisfy "your wants?" I assured him that I was too happy in being near his person; that I did not seek fortune; and that my only ambition had been to offer my services to him. "That is "very well, dear Doctor; but to unite both "things is better still.—I give you what I "gave at Paris; circumstances are no longer

" the same, there is no comparison, but for " that very reason I wish your temporary " salary to be equivalent to your wants. Such " is my intention; see whether too low an " estimate has not been made."—I replied, " that I had more than I wanted, and that his kindness quite overpowered me."—" How " long do you intend to remain here?"—" As long as my services are agreeable to your Majesty. — " Do you know that my surgeon is " also the surgeon of the persons forming my " establishment?—that being alone, he must " be at the same time, surgeon, physician, and " apothecary?"—" I know it, Sire; I am devoted to you for ever; dispose of me as you may think fit."—" Well, I will not detain you more " than five years on this rock; and after that " time, I will settle upon you a pension of eight " or nine thousand francs per annum. You " will then return to Europe, having enough " to lead an independent life; you will be able " to resume your anatomical labours; and will, " in time, be ranked amongst the first phy- " siologists of the age. You are entitled to " my gratitude, esteem, and affection, for the " sacrifices you have made for me: and you " will justify those sentiments by taking care of

"me." The Emperor continued to converse a long time upon the same subject; and in a few days after General Montholon, by his order, repeated to me what he had said.

4th.—The Emperor's health in the same state. I advised warm sulphureous baths. After his usual bath he walked in the garden, and I followed him. He was gloomy and low-spirited. Having seated himself under a tuft of trees which commanded an extensive view, "Ah! Doctor," said he, "where is the fine "climate of Corsica?" He paused a few minutes, and then continued:—"Fate has not "permitted me to see once more those sites "endeared to me by all the recollections of my "infant days . . . I intended to reserve to myself "the sovereignty of that island, and I could "have done so, but an intrigue, a moment of "ill-humour, altered my choice and I preferred "Elba. Had I followed my first idea and re-"tired to Ajaccio, perhaps I should not have "thought of seizing again the reins of power; "I should not have been vulnerable on every "point; the promises made would not have "been broken, and I should not be here. I "had some idea of seeking refuge there in "1815. I was certain of uniting the opinions,

" wishes, and efforts of all, and I should have
" found myself in a condition to brave the
" malevolence of the Allied Powers. You know
" the inhabitants of our mountains; you know
" their energy, their perseverance, their courage,
" and with what a noble and undaunted mind
" they face the enemy. Islands, besides, have
" their peculiar means of defence; winds, dis-
" tance and the difficulties of landing, weaken
" the chances in favour of an aggression against
" them; and they avoid three fourths of the
" evils with which continents are afflicted. The
" whole population would have received me
" with open arms, it would have become my
" family, and all its hearts would have been at
" my disposal. Do you think that a coalition
" of thirty, forty, or even fifty thousand men
" would have been capable of subduing us, and
" that they would have dared to attempt it?
" What sovereign would have engaged in a
" conflict in the issue of which there was every
" thing to lose and nothing to gain?—for, I
" repeat it, the people were devoted to me;
" from my earliest days I have had a name
" and influence in Corsica. Its steep moun-
" tains, its deep valleys, its torrents and pre-
" cipices, offered no dangers to me. I have vi-

" sited them all from one extremity of the island
" to the other, and never has a single accident
" or the slightest insult taught me that my con-
" fidence was misplaced. Even at Bocognano,
" where sentiments of hatred and vengeance are
" transmitted down to the seventh generation—
" where in fixing the marriage-portion of a
" young girl the number of her cousins is taken
" into account, I was greeted and welcomed,
" and every sacrifice would have been made for
" me. It was not, therefore, the sentiments of
" the population that gave me the least unea-
" siness; for I knew that every arm was devoted
" to me: but it would have been said that I
" got out of the way, that I sought the port
" whilst all was perishing, and I would not seek
" for a refuge amidst the wreck of so many brave
" men. I resolved, therefore, to retire to Ame-
" rica, and bent my steps towards England; but
" I was far from foreseeing on what horrible
" terms she grants her hospitality. I was also
" deterred by another consideration. Once in
" Corsica, I did not fear the issue of the strug-
" gle; but I should have been in the centre of
" the Mediterranean; the eyes of France and
" Italy would have been turned towards me, and
" the effervescence would not have subsided.
" In order to ensure their own tranquillity, the

" sovereigns would have been obliged to attack " me, and the Island would have been torn by " war, and I could not bear the idea of being " reproached as the cause of its misfortunes. " Besides, I had abdicated in favour of my son, " and such an act could not be illusory: I " wished to render it more certain and more " advantageous for the nation, and feared to " paralyze its effects.

" Ah! Doctor, what recollections Corsica has " left me! I still enjoy in imagination its sites " and its mountains: methinks I still tread its " soil, and know it even by the odour it exhales. " I intended to ameliorate its condition, to render " it happy—in a word, to do every thing in its " favour, and the rest of France would not have " disapproved of my predilection, ... but our " disasters came, and I could not carry into effect " the plans I had formed.

" Though mountainous, Corsica is deficient " in water, and has no large rivers. That was " an obstacle to contend with, but the excel- " lence of the soil and local dispositions would " have made amends for this defect.

" The salt pits near Ajaccio are favourable " for the growth of coffee and sugar-canes: this " has been proved by experiments, and I proposed " to turn this circumstance to account. I in-

" tended to encourage industry, commerce, agri-
" culture, sciences and arts; to give facilities to
" the inhabitants, to invite families of foreigners
" into the island, to increase its population; in a
" word, to put it in a condition to suffice to itself,
" and render itself independent of the continental
" markets. I had adopted a plan of fortifications
" upon which I had long meditated, and which
" would have been inexpugnable. St. Florent is
" one of the most favourable situations I know,
" and the most advantageous for trade. It is
" close to France, and borders upon Italy; and its
" harbours are safe and convenient, and capable of
" receiving large fleets: I should have built there
" a large and fine city, which would have been the
" capital; I should have appointed it a fortress,
" and it would have had ships constantly station-
" ed there. Such were my ideas—such were the
" plans I had formed; but my enemies have had
" the art of making me waste my existence on
" the field of battle; they have transformed into
" the demon of war, the man who desired only
" the blessings of peace; the nations have been
" deceived by the stratagem—all have risen, and
" I have been overpowered. However, if I have
" not had it in my power to carry into execution
" the plans I had formed in favour of Corsica, I

" have at least the satisfaction of having done " something for Ajaccio: its port is small, but " good and well situated."

I was greatly affected whilst the Emperor was speaking, and could scarcely command my emotion. What I heard harrowed up my very soul, when I compared the state of prosperity which was in store for Corsica, with the pitiable condition into which it had fallen; and, in spite of myself, tears escaped from my eyes. " What " is the matter with you?" said the Emperor. —" Ah! Sire, pardon my agitation, I cannot control my feelings; the contrast is too striking."—" Doctor, our country!—our country! " If St. Helena were France, I should like even " this frightful rock."

5th.—Slight abdominal pains, which a bath removed. The Emperor was better, and authorised me to write to Sir Hudson, to ask his leave to visit the hospitals.

I was not yet familiar with the forms of ceremony observed towards the Emperor, and endeavoured to learn them, and to model my behaviour and manner upon those of the individuals that surrounded his person. None of us ever appeared before his Majesty without having been previously announced; and in his

presence we were respectful and attentive, standing up, uncovered, without presuming to approach or to put our hats on until invited so to do. Nobody addressed him, unless in general conversation; in which case he listened, answered, animated the discussion and enlivened it by his wit, shewing himself at the same time brilliant, just, kind, and full of amenity. Napoleon was to us amiable and affectionate, seeking to centre in himself all our affections; his advice was that of a father, his reproaches those of a friend. In his anger he was impetuous and terrible, and would not brook contradiction; but the fit over, he was all kindness and attention, and tried by every means in his power to console those whom he had ill-treated; his actions, the tone of his voice, all expressed his kindly feelings and manifested his regret. When the subject of offence was serious, he discarded the guilty, and kept him aloof for a time; but the period of interdiction elapsed, every thing was forgotten, the exile was received into favour again, and not a word more was said about the matter.

Every thing relating to these rules of general conduct was easily understood, and I had soon learnt it; but etiquette has its forms, which it is impossible to divine. I did not know, for instance, that it forbade leaving the Emperor's

room until ordered by him to withdraw.—Napoleon had fallen asleep, and, fearful of disturbing him, I left the room; but I had not yet reached my own before he was awake again. He looked round, and not seeing me, rang the bell and sent for me. I went back to him, and found him in the same state in which I had left him. He woke a second time with a deep sigh, and fixing his eyes upon me—"Oh! oh!" said he, "you are still here?"—"Yes, Sire, but I had gone away."—"Ah!" said he, rising, looking steadfastly at me, and taking me by the ear, laughing at the same time, "*Dottoraccio di* "*Capo Corso!** you leave me alone! you "withdraw without my leave! You are a no-"vice, and I forgive you; but neither the Grand "Marshal nor General Montholon would have "retired from my bed-side until I sent them "away." I entreated him to excuse my ignorance, and he again laughed, repeating once more that I was a novice.

6th.—I saw the Emperor at 10 o'clock in the morning, and found him better.—He took his bath and his usual exercise. When he came into the house again he took up a volume of Racine, turned over the leaves for some time, and at last stopped at the scene where Mith-

* Great *Cape Corsican* Doctor.

ridates developes his plan of attack against Rome.* "You expect me to recite that pas- "sage so much admired by wiseacres in general, "but, my dear *Dottoraccio*, I shall do no such "thing: it is all foolery clothed in poetry too "elegant. Let us turn to this other passage; it "is less pompous, but contains much more truth "and reason." And he began to read with a delicacy and truth of expression, and inflexion of voice, which would have done honour to an actor. He, however, soon grew weary, threw down the book, fell back into his arm-chair pronouncing the name of his mother in an undertone, and sunk into a kind of stupor. I endeavoured to recall him to himself; I felt his chest heave, and as it were some great effort agitating his whole frame. He looked at me, but spoke not, and I did not know what to think of the state in which I saw him. Suddenly a crisis took place, and he was relieved. "Doctor," said he, "I am dead; what do you think about it?" Then rising from his chair and advancing towards me, he looked at me from head to foot, took hold of me by the ears and whiskers, and

* The opening scene of the third act of Racine's "Mithridates."

pushed me against the wall, exclaiming, "Ah! "you rascal of a Doctor *Capo-Corsino*, you are "come to St. Helena to physic me, are you?— "Do you know that I will have you hanged at "your own house at Cape Corsica?" In speaking thus he laughed, gesticulated, and said the drollest things imaginable.

7th.—Same state of health;—bath and exercise as usual. The Emperor had authorised me to go to Plantation-house. I went and paid my first visit to the Governor, who received me in presence of his Adjutant-general, Sir G. Gorrequer. I complained of the restrictions imposed upon us, of the melancholy state to which they had brought the Emperor's health, and added a prognostic as to the issue of his disorder; stating that every symptom tended to prove that the diagnostic of chronic hepatitis already existed, and declaring that the climate of St. Helena engenders, nourishes, and increases that kind of affections, and that their issue cannot but be extremely dangerous. "You think so?" said Sir Hudson: "General Bonaparte enjoys excellent health, notwithstanding all he says. This is the healthiest climate I know; and it has been chosen for that reason—Undoubtedly, undoubtedly!"

8th.—The Emperor continues to feel well, and recovers by degrees his appetite and strength.—Bath and usual exercise. The Emperor sent for the children of the Grand Marshal;—they had not seen him for some days past. They hastened to him full of joy, and immediately began to play and sport around him. To him they appealed as arbiter of their discussions:—"Is it not true, Sire, that my cup and ball goes best?"—"No, it is mine."—"It is mine," said a third: "I refer it to you—your Majesty shall decide." The Emperor laughed, gave his decision, laughed louder still, and the tumult went on as before. "You are too noisy, "children; I shall not keep you to dinner."—"Yes, do! we will not make any more noise:" and they were quieter. Napoleon kept them, placed little Hortensia next to him, and ordered dinner to be served. But their appetite satisfied, the discussions began again: each contended for the palm of victory,—each pretended to have been the most skilful. The Emperor was again established judge, and appealed to, right and left. "Is it not true, Sire? Your Majesty has seen;—have you not?" Napoleon, almost stunned with the noise, did not know whom to answer, and laughed more and

more. "Hold your tongues," said he to them at last; "you are little chatter-boxes. True, but "be quiet; you make too much noise." And they all began again, accusing each other mutually of crying out too loud, until, dinner being over, the Emperor sent them away. "You will send for us to-morrow, Sire;—will you not?"—"You are, then, very fond of playing "with me?"—"Yes! yes!" exclaimed they all together, and withdrew in the hopes of coming again.

"How happy they are when I send for them, "or play with them!" said the Emperor; "all "their wishes are satisfied. Passions have not "yet approached their hearts: they feel the "plenitude of existence;—let them enjoy it! "At their age, I thought and felt as they do: "what storms since! . . . But how much "that little Hortensia grows and improves! If "she lives, of how many young *élégans* will she "not disturb the repose! I shall then be no "more: what say you, Doctor?"

9th.—The Emperor's health in the same state; continuation of the same remedies.

I had just received despatches from Plantation-house: what could they contain? what further luminous restrictions had Sir Hudson

imagined? I was impatient to know, and slipped out to read them; but I found it was a letter from his Excellency in answer to mine. Permission was granted to me to visit the hospitals, but on condition that I should not go alone, but under the *surveillance* of an officer. This precaution was most prudent; for the sick might be stirred up into sedition, and so warlike an individual as myself might beat England with a few dying patients!

The Emperor was walking round Longwood. I observed him looking about, peeping into the interior of the apartments to see what was going forward there, and visiting, one after the other, every room occupied by his suite. I was going up to him to shew him the letter I had received, when I was stopped by one of the servants—"You must not go near the Emperor—his Majesty is incognito."—"How incognito?"—"Certainly: do you not see that he has not his usual dress on, nor the cocked hat, which he never leaves off, excepting during the short time he is at table? Well, whenever the Emperor is dressed as you now see him,—when he puts on that long green great-coat, and buttons it up to the neck, and takes that large round hat,—he does not wish to be approached by any body,

and even the Grand Marshal himself does not disturb him." I thanked the servant for his information, and waited till the Emperor should come in; but he went to pay a visit to Madame Bertrand, and remained there two hours. I was beginning to find the time very long. "Have a little patience," said Noveraz*; "I see some movement at the posts; they are going to relieve the sentries: the Emperor does not expose himself to be elbowed by the red-coats; he will soon come in." In a short time he actually did come in; and having undressed and put on a dressing-gown, he walked for a long while in his drawing-room. He was in good spirits. The conversation fell upon Paris, and he spoke a great deal about the *English colony*: it was the head-quarters, the parade, of all polices;—Fouché and William Flint held their market, and the highest bidder was the purchaser. "I "was one day speaking to the King of Wur- "temberg at the Tuileries; we were standing "near a window, and had a view of the saloons, "I had just received a report disclosing some of "the dirty practices then going forward, and

* One of the servants.

" had not been able to control a movement of " impatience. 'These insects torment you? " crush them! You have conquered the world, " and you retreat before a set of spies! I " should settle them in a few hours.' —' By " what means?'—' A dungeon! the gibbet! " Marquises, Countesses—all should march to- " gether to the gallows! Nobody would stir " after that, and Flint's gold would have been " spent in vain.' His Majesty was growing " very warm on the subject: I did not contra- " dict him. His advice was good, no doubt, " but it could not suit me: it is only a legiti- " mate monarch who can put half his subjects " in chains."

It was late; the Emperor went into his bedroom. There was nobody there to undress him, and I rang the bell; but before I could call any one, his clothes were already flying about in all directions; the furniture and the floor were strewed with them when Marchand came in. "Ah! you rogue," said Napoleon to him, " you " were not there!—and the gnats! take care, " your ears shall pay for it if there are any " under the gnat-curtain." He laughed, got into bed, and attempted to arrange a sliding candlestick which he used at night; but the

adjusting-screw being heated, he burned his hand, which he shook for a long time, joking with the servant, and accusing him of having formed a conspiracy against his fingers. "I am "the victim of fire and gnats," said he; "sleep "has fled: Doctor, you must suffer for it!" He got out of bed again, put on his dressing-gown and his flannel-bag, and threw himself into his arm-chair. "You have read the bat-"tles of Alexander?"—"No, Sire."—"Those "of Cæsar?" He saw that my answer was going to be a negative, and continued, "Mine, "at all events?"—"No, Sire; hitherto I have only had to deal with dead bodies."—"Very "bad company, Doctor; but Montholon will "give you a sketch of those campaigns which "have shaken the world. I wish you to have "some idea of them." And accordingly I afterwards received some lessons on the subject: but my conceptions are not warlike; I did not profit by my instructions, and confined myself to my scalpel—that is my staff of office.

The Emperor began to take a review of the situation of affairs, and the intrigues which had effected his downfal. "I was aware of those "intrigues," said he; "I could have punished "the leaders of them, and perhaps I ought to

"have done so; but executions were repug-
"nant to my feelings—I was averse to shed-
"ding blood."

10th.—The Emperor complained of slight abdominal pains, which yielded to a bath and an enema. "I am well," said he; "I do not "want any doctoring to-day; go and take "advantage of the *Sicilian's* permission to visit "the hospitals: I see one of his *Kalmoucks* "coming; probably it is the one appointed to "watch over you." Napoleon had guessed rightly; it was Doctor Arnott, whom his Excellency had ordered to accompany me. I placed myself under his guidance, and we started. We went first to James Town, where I found nothing but dysentery, and acute and chronic hepatitis: nobody escaped the influence of the climate. There were, however, some cases of inflammatory fevers, but the number of them was small. The hospital of James Town exhibited nothing that I had not under my eyes at Longwood. I went to that of Deadwood. Here were the very same disorders as at James Town; but so rapid in their progress, so terrible in their effects, that one hour, one instant, was sufficient to upset the whole system of the animal economy, and render unavailing the most efficacious re-

medies. I never had a better opportunity of learning to appreciate the value of time, and the fatal consequences of delay.

Having seen and examined this hospital, and admired the order and regulations of the establishment, I proceeded back to Longwood. I was no longer in company with Dr. Arnott; but under the escort of a brave officer, with whom I soon began to enter into conversation. The rain had saturated the ground, and I felt impatient on seeing my horse floundering in the mire. "That is," said my companion, "the inconvenience of argillaceous soils; we must put up with it."—"Very well," answered I, "but persons perched on the summit of mountains ought not to be exposed to the inconveniencies to which plains are subject. We are now on a bank of clay; the rain does not penetrate into it; it either settles on the surface and makes it clammy, or slides over it from its summit to its base, and renders the whole extent of it greasy, slimy, and slippery." In conversing thus we reached a spot whence we discovered a prospect which offered to our view rocks half detached from their bases, and abysses of almost immeasurable depth. My guide examined and explained these convulsions of nature, with a de-

gree of care and pleasure which a geologist alone could feel in witnessing such a scene; expatiating on volcanos, lava, fissures, levels, &c. I could see that St. Helena is a volcanic production, and that was quite enough for me; I felt less interested about the interior than about the surface. I gazed upon that heap of rocks whose summits are lost in the clouds. I followed them, running in chains from east to west, breaking suddenly into bifurcated groups, advancing towards the south, bending towards the north, and offering a spectacle of disorder and confusion, of masses of needles, precipices, fragments, and mountains, seeming to dispute for space, which no other spot in the world could exhibit. "You would see much worse," said my guide, "if you were to climb to the top of Diana's Peak, whence your eye would compass the whole island."—"What could I possibly see worse than peaks and precipices, without a tree or any signs of vegetation? How dreary, how barren every thing appears! And could they . . .?"—"Undoubtedly . . . ." We continued to advance; suddenly the prospect expanded, and the officer stopped to point out to me the picture before our eyes; it was composed of patches of verdure, with a few bullocks and rawboned horses grazing

on some scanty blades of grass growing on the brink of the precipices. "I see them," said I, "but do you observe where they are stuck up? Are those our consolations, our resources?"— "Resources! oh no, certainly not; every thing here is dry and tough, however.... .However, there is never either snow or thunder."— "I know it: but the rains are frequent, the winds impetuous, and the temperature in a perpetual state of variation. Sometimes you are in a hollow, where you choke; then in a current of air where you are frozen; further on, in a thick fog. You are panting with heat, benumbed with cold, or wet through. In a few minutes you pass through all the degrees of the thermometrical scale. We have scarcely entered this mass of air, and already the moisture is condensed, and water streams down our clothes."—"It is not for its sudden transitions that the climate of St. Helena is commendable. I admit that the atmosphere is alternately frozen, warm, dry, and damp; and that these variations occur twenty times a day: nevertheless the hygrometer...." "Is a useless instrument in this case. My boots supply the place of one; I take them off at night, clean and polished, and the next morning they are covered with mould. Do you think that indication is not as certain

as that of an hygrometer? The Bedouins, encamped in the midst of the Desert, are at least sheltered from the inclemency of the weather; but we are exposed to all the rigour of the seasons. If it rains hard our roofs are immediately soaked through; if, on the contrary, the sun shines upon them, the tar with which they are covered becomes liquid, runs, and destroys every thing."—"The situation is far from being a pleasant one; but you are animated and upheld by a powerful sentiment. Besides, the heat does not last long at St. Helena; and experience has proved, that the number of days when the sky is obscured with clouds is double the number of those when the sun shines in all its power."—"But the rain?"—"Ah! that, indeed, is our plague; the rain here is almost incessant: it falls upon an average 135 days in the year. The celebrated Banks, desirous of knowing the quantity of rain that falls on these mountains, sent out from London instruments to measure it with precision; and it was found to be 33° 38 inches—12° 13 inches more than in England. Every thing around us is very unlike the beautiful climate of Italy; and, above all, very different from the circumstances in which he was placed in that country at a

certain period, when his ascendancy there was all powerful. I then fought under other banners; we were numerous, resolute, and determined to conquer; but his dispositions were so skilful, and his movements so prompt and rapid, that we were always beaten. It was in vain that we excited the nations to war: he disarmed them with a proclamation—calmed them with an order of the day. I recollect still his beautiful address to the inhabitants of Carinthia,* and the effect it produced.

11th.—The Emperor has had a good night. —Bath—usual exercise.

"Well, Doctor," said he to me, "what have "you observed?" I gave him in a few words an account of what I had seen. "You are a dunce, "Sir: Bathurst would even say a dishonest "man, a traitor! Liver complaints! why they "are unknown in the island. Ask the Go- "vernor, the Minister, ask all England? This "is the most salubrious spot on the globe! It "has been chosen by the pupils of Pitt; you "may rely upon their sagacity. Do you not "know that hepatitis is not tolerated at St. "Helena?—that Sir Hudson will not admit "those kinds of disorders; and that he forbids

* See Las Cases.—Vol. II. Part iv. page 23.

" the approach of the coasts to them? Every " disease has permission to put in here, except " diseases of the liver! Madame Montholon " thought proper when here, some time ago, to " suffer from an affection which she had already " laboured under at Paris. She complained of " it, and asked to return to Europe; but was " told that it was all idea and imagination; and " her doctor was severely reprimanded. He " soon acknowledged his error, and the seat of " complaint was removed to some other place. " It was no longer the liver that was affected, " but another organ, I forget which,—and that " alone. His Excellency then assented, and " granted a passage.—Ah! Doctor, what men " we have to deal with!—To transform the air " into an instrument of murder, is an idea that " never occurred to even the most ferocious " of our Pro-consuls; it could only originate " on the banks of the Thames! How wrong " I was to . . . .!—But events were following " each other so rapidly that I had not time to " reflect, or to make any arrangements."

12th.—The Emperor is every day better. After his bath he went out into the garden, whither I followed him. He first spoke of Corsica; and described, in glowing language,

its sites, its valleys, its mountains: then passing suddenly from his country to his family, he said, "You have resided a long time in Flo-"rence; you know that my family is origi-"nally from that place?"—"Yes, Sire; your family was patrician, and ranked one of the first there."—"Do you know the house they "inhabited?"—"It is a monument, Sire; a curiosity which does not escape the notice of any body."—"It is in the centre of the town, is "it not? and has a coat of arms sculptured in "stone on the front?"—"Yes, Sire; and it is preserved entire."—"When I passed through "Florence, on my march to Leghorn, I was "strongly invited to see it; but I was so busy, "so overburthened with affairs, that I could "not go. The day of my departure, I went in "the evening to San Miniato, where I had an "old relation, a canon, and the last shoot of the "Tuscan branch of Bonapartes, and whom I "therefore wished to visit. We were welcomed, "and a most delicious repast was set before us. "Having satisfied our appetite, we began to "chatter; we were all young, cheerful, noisy, "and as republican as Brutus; and some ex-"pressions escaped us now and then, which "were not very sanctified. But the good old

" man was not at all disconcerted; he listened,
" replied, and threw out from time to time some
" reflections, which struck us by their justness.
" My staff were delighted to see a priest without
" bigotry, and the bottle circulated freely: we
" drank his health, and he drank to the success
" of our arms. The conversation was enlivened
" by jest and pleasantry, and we had an oppor-
" tunity of observing the excellent judgment
" and the amenity of this worthy Canon. My
" officers were quite reconciled to his gown,
" and he did not take offence at our military
" irreverence. He tried to detain us the fol-
" lowing day; but the troops were on the march,
" and we told him that we were obliged to go,
" but should see him again on our way back.
" We were fearful that the good old man had
" not beds enough for so numerous a retinue,
" and requested him not to be concerned about
" our sleeping; that we were accustomed to
" lead a soldier's life, and should be satisfied
" with a bundle of straw to stretch ourselves
" upon. 'No,' replied he; 'my house is plain,
" but large enough to lodge you all;' and he
" accompanied every one of us, in turn, to the
" room he had prepared for us, and wished us a
" good night. I went to bed; but had not yet

" put out the light, when I heard a knock at my
" door: I thought it was Berthier, but it was
" the worthy prelate himself, who came to ask
" me to grant him a few minutes' conversation.
" He had begun at table to speak about genea-
" logy; but a discussion of that nature could
" only be attended with unpleasant consequences
" in the situation in which I then was, and I
" therefore made a sign to him to desist, which
" he did. I now dreaded that he was going to
" begin again the subject which I had thus
" avoided; but I did not, however, let him per-
" ceive my fears, and requested him to sit down,
" assuring him that I should hear with great
" pleasure what he had to say. He began by
" speaking about the protection which Heaven
" had extended towards me, promising a con-
" tinuance of the same protection, if I would
" undertake a pious act, which would not cost
" me much. I had listened patiently to the
" recital of the history of all the Bonapartes,
" and of the actions of one of them; and was
" at a loss to guess what he was driving at,
" when he suddenly told me, in a kind of ec-
" stasy, that he was about to show me a docu-
" ment of infinite value. I certainly thought
" he was going to produce the pedigree of the

" family, and the fear I had to offend the old
" gentleman was scarcely sufficient to suppress
" a burst of laughter, which was rising in spite
" of myself; but, to my great surprise, instead
" of a parchment, or a grotesque diploma, some-
" thing still more comical made its appearance—
" being no less than a memoir in favour of a
" Father Bonaventure, whose beatification had
" been long since acknowledged, but whose name
" had not yet been inscribed in the Calendar,
" on account of the excessive expense required
" for the ceremony of canonization. 'Ask the
" Pope to proclaim him,' said the worthy canon;
" 'he will grant your request; and, perhaps, it
" will cost nothing, or at least very little: out
" of consideration for you, his Holiness will not
" refuse to place another saint in Heaven. Ah!
" dear kinsman, you do not know what it is to
" have a saint in one's family! It is to him—
" to Saint Bonaventure—that you owe the suc-
" cess of your arms; it was he that conducted
" you and directed you in the midst of your
" battles: and be assured also, that the visit you
" are now paying is not the effect of chance;
" no, dear kinsman! it was again St. Bonaven-
" ture who inspired you, in order that you
" might have an opportunity of knowing his

" merit, and of returning good for good, service
" for service. Do, therefore, for him with the
" Pope, what he has done for you with God.' I
" felt strongly inclined to laugh at the pious
" eloquence and the earnestness of the old man;
" but he was so sincere in his belief, that it
" would have gone against my conscience to
" wound his feelings. I therefore answered
" him with fair words, alleging the spirit of the
" age and the cares of the war, and promised
" him to take up the affair of St. Bonaventure
" as soon as the state of irreverence of the pub-
" lic mind should be less strongly pronounced.
" 'Dear kinsman,' said he, 'you satisfy my
" most ardent wishes; allow me to embrace
" you: you take the interests of Heaven to
" heart, and I predict that success will crown
" your enterprises. I am old, and shall per-
" haps not see the effect of your promises;
" but I rely upon them, and shall die happy.'
" He then gave me his benediction; I wished
" him a good night, and he retired. I endea-
" voured to sleep, but could not; the adventure
" was so singular; and I thought the fancy so
" odd a one for the times in which we were
" living, that I had scarcely closed my eyes
" when Berthier came into my apartment.

" The other Generals soon came in also; and " my staff being assembled, I related the " conversation I had had with the Canon. " The solicitations of the good old man, his " ambition, his way of accounting for our vic- " tories, excited the mirth of every one. We " laughed, we joked, we expatiated on the wor- " thy Canon, and on the Saint who was fighting " for us with all his might. If the Canon had " heard us!—if he had known how devout I " was!

" We were going to set off, and I was desi- " rous of leaving the Canon a token of remem- " brance and of satisfaction for the reception we " had met with. But what could I offer him " except the legend? I thought in vain, when " suddenly I recollected that I could dispose of " a cross of St. Stephen. I dictated a few " words to Berthier, a courier was dispatched, " and we took our leave of the old man, who " embraced us, and gave us his benediction. In " a few days after, the cross was sent to him.

" We proceeded to Leghorn, where a scene " of another description took place. The town " was governed by a man whose character I " have had an opportunity of appreciating since " my downfal. I had but little to fear from

" him then; but he had not been favourably " spoken of to me; my troops were extenuated, " and time was precious. Unwilling to be " exposed to useless chicanery, I sent for him; " I loaded him with reproaches, and got rid of " him. However, I went too far; I exceeded " all bounds: I had only intended to remove " him—but I ill-treated him. I was wrong: " and I have been enabled to convince myself " since that Spanochi was full of loyalty and " noble sentiments; I had proofs of it at Elba.

" The adventure of San Miniato was soon " forgotten in the multiplicity of affairs which " assailed me, and which left me no time to " amuse myself about those of the legend. The " Pope, however, had abundance of leisure; " and having crowned the grand-nephew, he " would have had no objection to canonize " the grand-uncle. He spoke to me about it, " and repeated the homily of the Canon. But " the ranks of Heaven occupied me less than " those of this world; I therefore turned a deaf " ear to his Holiness, and left to the Consistory " the care of its own promotions."

13th.—Same state of the Emperor's health. Bath and exercise as usual.

Sir Hudson could no longer close his eyes:

whenever his soldiers met our priests, they ran and knelt down before them; they were seduced or sold, and England was lost! It was in vain that he used increased vigilance, reprimands, or punishment: piety prevailed over fear, holy-water over flogging; and no sooner did his Irishmen perceive the cassock than they prostrated themselves, kissed the hands and feet of the missionaries, and craved their benediction. The Governor, overcome by the obstinacy of the troops, laid the blame upon the missionaries, and caused them to be closely watched. The Emperor could not possibly see what importance could be attached to that interchange of agnuses and genuflexions, and felt hurt at the manner in which the missionaries were treated. "I "shall not allow that heretic to humble the "tiara of St. Peter," said he to me laughing; "the Pope and Consistory would never forgive "me, were I to put up with these insults: call "the priests." Buonavita came, and received orders never to go beyond the limits. "Let "people say, after that, that I do not take care "to cause the Church to be respected."

14th.—The Emperor had been tolerably well all day yesterday, and part of the night. This morning he was rather dejected; and after

having taken a few turns he came into the house again, breakfasted, and went into his apartment. "I feel uncomfortable," said he; "I should wish to sleep, to read, to do—I don't "know what. Ring for Marchand; let him "bring me some books, and close the windows. "I shall go to bed, and see in a little while whe- "ther I am better. But here is Racine, Doc- "tor. Now, you are on the stage, and I am "listening. Andromache!—ah! that is the "play for unfortunate fathers."—"Sire, if it were Metastasio!"—"Oh, you are afraid of "your accent? The metre of the poetry will "conceal your Italian inflexions—Begin." I hesitated, and he took the book, read a few lines, and let the volume escape from his hands. He had fallen upon this celebrated passage*:

"Je passais jusqu'aux lieux où l'on garde mon fils.
"Puisqu'une fois le jour vous souffrez que je voie
"Le seul bien qui me reste et d'Hector et de Troie,
"J'allais, Seigneur, pleurer un moment avec lui.
"Je ne l'ai point encore embrassé d'aujourd'hui."

He was greatly affected, and hid his face. "Doctor," said he, "I am too agitated; leave

* Act I. Scene IV.

"me alone." I withdrew. He became more calm, slept a few minutes, and sent for me again. Sleep had dispelled his indisposition, and he was less gloomy and agitated. He was going to shave; and as I had heard that this ceremony was singular, I remained to witness it. He was in his shirt, his head uncovered, and two servants by the side of him; one held the looking-glass and towel, the other the remainder of the apparatus. The Emperor soaped half his face, gave back the brush, wiped his hands and his mouth, took a razor which had been dipped in warm water and shaved the right side of his face with an uncommon degree of dexterity. —"Is it ready, Noveraz?"—"Yes, Sire."— "Well! now face about—there, halt!" The light fell upon the left side of his face, which he shaved with the same ceremonies and the same promptitude. The expression of his countenance was full of kindness. He passed his hand over his chin.—"Hold the glass up; am I well shaved? "Yes, that is right. Not a hair has escaped, "what say you?"—"No, Sire," said the servant.—"No? I think I see some. Hold the "glass up higher—place it in a better light. "How is this, rogue—you flatter, you deceive "me, here at St. Helena! on this rock! and you!

"you are an accomplice;" and at the same time he gave little blows to both, gently boxed their ears, laughed, made them laugh, and pursued them in the most comical manner. After this he took a tooth-pick, then brushed his teeth, and washed his mouth with a mixture of brandy and cold water, part of which he swallowed. I asked him why he did not reject the whole. "Because," said he, "what does good to the "gums, cannot do any harm to the stomach. "Is it not odd that I have never been able to "use any thing but cold water to wash my "mouth? Tepid water occasions a convulsive "cough, hot water produces vomiting; and I "never could gargle without running the risk of "choking, or swallowing the gargle, even if it "were poisonous." And I observed, indeed, that part of the liquid being raised by the epiglottis, fell through the aperture of the glottis into the larynx, and produced the cough, the efforts and the vomiting.

Whilst I was speaking with the Emperor, Marchand had prepared in the next room his sponge, his wash-hand stand and his clothes. He passed into it; and washed his face and head, throwing the flannel far from him after he had done. "You see, Doctor," said he, "fine

"arms, breast plump and rounded, skin white. "And my hand, how many amongst the fair "sex would be jealous of it!" The servant was washing his skin, and Napoleon was passing in review the charms and the defects of some European ladies, interrupting his description to stimulate his servant, taking it up again, and again discontinuing:—"Madame ——, "was lively, animated, ... harder, you rascal,... "and was very anxious to have a child of the "race of heroes ... harder, I tell you, as if you "were scrubbing an ass ... she came one day... "but that fellow does not brush me.... Doc- "tor, I will relate that to you another time... "get out of the way, let me punish this fel- "low's shoulders for having spared mine, as "he has done;" and in saying this he gently pulled the servant's ears, and gave him some slight blows. "Now let us see what the "correction has produced—give me the Eau de "Cologne."—Having caused some to be poured on his hands and washed part of his body with it, he put on a flannel waistcoat, silk stockings, breeches of white kerseymere, shoes with gold buckles, a black stock, a white waistcoat, the riband of the grand cross of the Legion of Honour, which he constantly wore when he was

not in an undress, a green coat, and the cocked hat; and his dress was complete. "Now, Doctor," said he, "the remainder of the day is ours; no "more working, no more reading! As soon as "I am *en costume*, I either receive visits or walk "about; I think no more about any thing."

15th.—The Emperor had slept but little. The pain in the liver had become more acute.—Bath as usual.

I had seen Madame Bertrand the day before, and found her suffering more than usual. Napoleon was uneasy about her, and apprehensive that her complaint might take a serious turn.—"Is your patient better? does the pain "subside a little?"—"No, Sire, her strength is declining, and she is a prey to all the malignant influence of the latitude in which we are living."—"Do you, then, entertain any apprehen-"sions for her life?"—"No, Sire, I do not mean that exactly; but the organs are wearing, and the action of this fatal climate upon them is unceasing."—"Undoubtedly the situation is "horrible: we men are accustomed to pain and "privations, and can bear them; but a woman, "deprived all at once of every thing that tends "to render life cheerful and agreeable, trans-"ported to a frightful rock,—how much more

" she is to be pitied, and how much resigna-
" tion she requires! Madame Bertrand rises
" late, her illness obliges her to remain in bed;
" she cannot attend at mass, and yet she would
" perhaps be glad to hear it said? I did not
" reflect that she is an invalid, when I fixed
" the hour of the service; I only considered the
" great age of the good old Abbé. Tell her
" that I order Vignali to go and officiate at her
" house, and let her inform Vignali of the hour
" that suits her; that priest is henceforth at her
" disposal. He may do as we do, construct a
" moveable altar, or use ours, and place it in an
" apartment of the Grand Marshal's house. Any
" person may go to that mass whom the Coun-
" tess thinks proper to admit; but for my part
" I persist that nobody shall attend at mine, ex-
" cept those persons whom I shall have invited.
" By the by, the Abbés instruct the children,
" do they not? Does little Arthur read?—
" does he begin to spell at least?"—" I suppose so, Sire; the priests seem to take a great deal of pains with them."

16th.—The Emperor a little better. The pain in the liver had become bearable.—Bath.

The Emperor was at his desk. Around him

were rulers and compasses, and he twisted in his fingers a pencil, the instrument he habitually wrote with, very seldom using pen and ink for that purpose. 'I perceived plans, sketches, and algebraic formulæ; but Napoleon whistled, and that announced a storm. I said nothing; we always guessed the sensations which agitated him, by his manner of applying to work. If his application was serious, we could judge that he was suffering, and the subject before him difficult. If, on the contrary, his application was slight and cheerful; if we heard him hum a few lines of some lively Italian air, we knew that his sufferings and recollections were suspended, and that he was restored to his usual amenity of disposition. But if the air resounded through his lips, he was crossed, displeased, out of temper, and only waited an opportunity or a word to break out. Woe to whoever was then in the way!—he had to weather a squall! I was not anxious to find myself exposed to one, but that was, however, going to happen. Napoleon was shaking an oblong-shaped snuff-box to and fro: I seized the opportunity, and ventured to say a word respecting the inconvenience of snuff.—"Poh! sheer medical importance! As if I took

" any snuff! I wear this box, Mr. Doctor, on " account of the medallions that are mounted " upon it, [they represented Alexander, Cæsar, " Mithridates, &c.:] but as to snuff, I am weeks " together without taking any — I merely " smell it."

He threw himself upon his sofa, opened at random the second volume of his unpublished correspondence, meditated, and then, as if struck with something, his countenance and manners assumed a milder aspect, and he began to read aloud:—

" '13th Vendémiaire, VIIth Year of the Republic.

" ' TO GENERAL KLEBER.

" ' I am afraid that a certain degree of cold- " ness subsists between us; you would be un- " just to doubt how grieved I should be to find " that such is the case.

" ' In the climate of Egypt, clouds, when there " are any, disappear in six hours; if there were " any on my side, they would pass away in " three. The sentiments of esteem which I " entertain for you, are at least equal to those " which you have sometimes manifested for " me.'

"What say you, Doctor? ought not Kleber "after that to have discarded all recollection of "some discussions we had had on the subject "of the administration of Alexandria?"—"I should think so, Sire."—"He was as enduring "as a Doctor whose prescriptions are ques- "tioned. You shall see how he had replied to "my reproaches:—

"'TO GENERAL BONAPARTE.

"'You forgot, Citizen-General, when you "wrote, that you were furnishing materials for "history, and that you were writing to Kleber. "I do not, however, suppose that any unex- "pressed thought or meaning lurks beneath "your words: you would not be believed.'

"'You would not be believed!' Do you ob- "serve the noble confidence, the pride of a brave "man! No, certainly I should not have been "believed, and I should have been extremely "grieved if I had been. I complained of want "of economy, but did not impute malversa- "tion. But such was Kleber—ardent, impe- "tuous, and easily acted upon; and intrigue "took advantage of this disposition."

17th.—Same state of Napoleon's health.—Bath.

The Emperor spoke again of his abdication, and expatiated on the intrigues and illusions which existed at that epoch. I expressed my surprise that men of experience and business—that Sebastiani, that Lafayette, should have been duped by Fouché; that they should have confounded epochs so far as to imagine that the Allied Powers would grant after a defeat, what five years of victories could scarcely obtain from them. "True," said Napoleon; "the deputation was an absurd one, and their "simplicity unequalled. But, as the inhabitants "of Vienna said on the occasion of the prisoners "of Olmutz, Lafayette leaves behind him "two daughters who will protect his memory: "'the declaration of rights,' and 'the institu-"tion of the national guard.'"

18th.—The Emperor complained of having experienced violent pain in the liver during the night. His palate and gums were in a state of irritation arising from catarrh. I prescribed proper remedies, and he took his usual bath.

19th.—The Emperor better. After his bath he spent the day in sleeping or reading.

20th.—Napoleon in the same state. He was

in a very gloomy mood, and having taken a bath, remained the whole day in close application.

21st.—The Emperor better. He took a walk after the bath, and exercise restored his strength and enlivened his spirits. I was standing near him, he came up to me and pushed me against the wall, lifting up his hand—"Great rogue of a "*Dottoraccio*, you physic me! What do you "say about my chest? What do you think of my "lungs? You, who know the human frame, say, "shall I die of a pulmonary complaint? What "is the decision of Galen?"—"That with a voice like yours, there is no fear of consumption."—"But this liver of mine?"—His attitude, the sound of his voice, were quite changed; and he held his hand on the right hypochondriac region. "There is the seat of the disorder—"that is the assailable part of the armour; the "climate has laid hold of it.... Well, let us "think no more about it. England will soon "reap the reward of her ignominy."

22d.—Napoleon complained of an acute pain in the liver; which also extended over the whole of the right side, up to the shoulder.—Bath.

After a short time he felt a little better, and took up his correspondence again :—

"'Alexandria, 17 Brumaire, VIIth Year of the Republic.

"'MY DEAR GENERAL . . .'

"Who is this?"—He looked for the signature.—"Marmont!—ah! yes!

"'It is more than probable that the English "have collected the ships that are before Alex- "andria, have obliged them to come here, and "have completely deceived them with a false "declaration of war. Hassan Bey appears to "be so completely the dupe of the English, "that it would be impossible to persuade him "that we are on good terms with the Porte....' "See! how incredulous!—'The citizen Bruce- "vich has read very attentively the manifesto "of the Porte. It is well drawn up, in the "usual form, and in a style truly Oriental; "but none but a Turk could be deceived by "such a snare.'—What sagacity!—'Ibraham "Aga has spoken to Hassan Bey, and thinks "he is duped by the English; yet he seems "to entertain some apprehensions respecting "the dispositions of the Porte towards us.— "I know not how that may be; but every

"thing that occurs here bears the character of "falsehood and imposture.'—What could be the "object of this?—Manscourt was removed!

"'It appears to me that the English have, by "force, and with the help of false representa- "tions, caused the Turkish sloop of war to "approach the port, and to fire upon us, in "order to induce us to return the fire; and "prove thereby to these Turks, that we are "their enemies. If that be the case, it is one "of Machiavelism, quite consistent with the "English character!'

"And very much like the machinations of "Brienne.—Marmont wished very much for "the governorship of Alexandria; and Mans- "court was consequently misrepresented, ca- "lumniated, and superseded. I had no idea "that I was deceived; and that it was an "affair concerted with Menou.—Were you at "Florence when that Osmanlis was sent there "as governor?—Did you know him?"—"Yes, Sire."—"What was the opinion entertained "respecting him?"—"The opinion that can be formed from a life of luxury and scandal?"— "What kind of life, then, did that old original "lead?"—"He was ever surrounded by cour-

tezans; one of whom he kept in the palace, where she presided over the *fêtes* and parties of the Governor, who took her every where with him: it was one continued scene of debauchery." —" I recognize in that description the faithful " Abdalla!—But after he had been recalled?"— " Every impropriety ceased, the courtezans disappeared, Princess Eliza renewed the furniture which they had polluted, and Menou was no longer thought of but by his creditors!"—" Of " whom no doubt he had a host?"—" A great many, Sire."—" Quite like him; voluptuous " and prodigal, and lavish in expressions of " sentiments of morality: he always spent " double the amount of his income.—How " often have I paid his debts! Did the Flo- " rentines know that he had turned Mussul- " man?"—" It was said of him,—of you, Sire, and of all the army." —" Oh, that might be " for Menou; but for me and my staff, we " had no time to lose in ablutions.

" When I entered Cairo, the Turks, who had " measured my stature by the fame of my vic- " tories, thought I was at least six feet high! " When they saw me, I was much lowered in " their estimation. I was neither so tall nor " so stout as one of their Mamelukes: I could

"not possibly command an army! The Imans "excited the people to revolt; it became ne- "cessary to oppose artifice to artifice, and I "pretended to be inspired."

He began to turn the leaves rapidly over; and having met the place he was looking for, he read:—

"'Cherifs, Ulemas, Orators of the Mosques! "Impress on the minds of the people, that "those who shall wilfully declare against me, "will have no repose either in this world, or "the world to come! Is there a man blind "enough not to see that fate itself directs my "operations? Is there a man incredulous "enough to doubt that every thing in this vast "universe is subject to the influence of fate?

"'Let the people know that it is written "ever since the creation of the world, that "after having destroyed all the enemies of "Islamism, and cast down the cross, I should "come from the West to fulfil the task which "has been assigned to me! Show them "that in more than twenty passages of that "holy book, the Koran, what happens now is "foreseen; and what will happen hereafter, "explained....

"'I might ask every one of you to render an

" account of the most secret sentiments of his
" heart; for I know every thing, even that
" which you have not said to any body! But
" the day will come, when it will be evident to
" all that I am led on by a superior power;
" and that all human efforts are unavailing
" against me!'

" The artillery of the Mokatan, the noise of
" thunder which broke out very opportunely,
" the diamonds of Malta which I distributed
" amongst the men possessing the greatest
" influence, my confidence, the language I
" held, all concurred, and dispelled the in-
" surrection! I was henceforth a friend of the
" Prophet: inspired, and sent by God. All the
" Cheicks were devoted to me. They, however,
" embarrassed me, by proposing to me to pro-
" claim Islamism, and to take the turban.—
" 'We will see,' said I.—'You would have one
" hundred thousand men!'—'I shall think about
" it.'—'The whole of Arabia would range it-
" self under your banners!'—'But absti-
" nence?'—'We are from the West, and
" should perish if we did not drink wine.'—
" 'The use of wine may be tolerated.'—'And
" circumcision?'—'Is not indispensable.' I
" was thus forced from every entrenchment; I

" no longer knew what to say, or what ob-
" stacle to invent; and was obliged to have
" recourse to a subterfuge: 'If such be the
" case,' said I, 'we are all Mussulmen! But
" the ceremony of our conversion must be
" great and imposing, and marked by acts of
" piety. I shall order a mosque to be built,
" finer than St. Sophia; and it shall be conse-
" crated for that occasion.' The Imans were
" satisfied; and consented to what they had,
" till then, obstinately refused. They offered
" up prayers for me to the Prophet: the people
" respected me and obeyed me; and I did every
" thing I wished. I thus profited by the stu-
" pidity of the Mussulmen, and amused myself
" at their expense; but I made no profession,
" and never appeared in the mosque to pray.

". But for the circumstances that imperiously
" commanded my return to France, the affairs
" of Egypt would have taken a very different
" turn; and they never would have had the
" deplorable issue they had, if Kleber had not
" fallen under the dagger of an assassin. It
" required but very limited talents to throw the
" English at Aboukir into the sea; beat the
" Turks, if they came out of the Desert; and
" go and compound with the Sepoys, who came

" down from Upper Egypt: but the incapacity " of Menou was beyond all calculation, and he " ruined every thing."

23d. The Emperor better.—Bath.

Napoleon had sent for the children of the Grand-Marshal.—He played and frolicked with them; and excited them himself to be noisy. Little Arthur got out of temper, and began to grumble. " What is the matter with you, lit- " tle urchin?—What do you say?" said the Emperor to him, making him jump and laugh at the same time in spite of himself.—" This " little fellow," said Napoleon to me, " is as " independent as I was at his age; but the " fits of passion to which I often gave way, " proceeded from more excusable motives: I " leave you to judge.—I had been placed in " a school of young ladies, the mistress of " which was known to our family; and being " a pretty boy, and the only one there, I was " caressed by every one of my fair schoolfellows. " I might generally be seen with my stockings " down, and covering half my shoes; and in our " walks I constantly held the hand of a charm- " ing little girl, who was the cause of many " broils and quarrels. My malicious comrades, " jealous of my Giacominetta, combined these

"two circumstances together in a song which "they made, and whenever I appeared in the "street they followed me, singing, "*Napoleone* "*di mezza calzetta, fa l'amore a Giacomi-*"*netta!*" I could not bear to be laughed at; "and seizing sticks or stones, or any thing that "came in my way, I rushed into the midst "of the crowd: fortunately it always happen-"ed that somebody interfered, and got me out "of the scrape; but the number opposed to "me never stopped me—I never reckoned how "many they were."

The children withdrew, and the conversation then became serious, and turned by degrees upon the events which followed the return from Egypt. The Emperor entered into numerous details relative to the battle of Marengo, and gave an account of that day very similar to what I had already heard.

"The army of reserve assembled at Dijon "enabled me to pass rapidly into Germany or "Italy, as circumstances might require. The "season favoured me a little, for the monks of "St. Bernard assured me that the snow dis-"appeared that year twenty days sooner than "usual. Our army, harassed by the passage "of the Alps, was very well received by these

" monks. I had informed them of our ap-
" proach, and sent them money, and they sup-
" plied us with provisions and excellent wine.
" The monks of St. Bernard form an order of
" the highest respectability; and their establish-
" ment is one of those institutions which go-
" vernments should never destroy, but on the
" contrary protect and encourage by every
" means in their power.

" On entering Italy I found myself imme-
" diately on the rear of the enemy, and master
" of his magazines and equipage. I had ob-
" tained great advantages; and once, at Stra-
" della, the campaign might be considered as
" closed. Had Genoa held out, I should have
" remained firm in my entrenched camp of
" Stradella, one of the strongest positions of
" Italy. I had on the Po five bridges, which
" facilitated my communication with the divi-
" sions of Chabrun, Lapoype, Turreau, and
" Moncey, which I might call to my assist-
" ance if attacked; or assist, if the enemy an-
" noyed them. To re-establish his communi-
" cations, M. de Melas would have been obliged
" to offer me battle on ground chosen by my-
" self, being a plain intersected with woods,
" very favourable to my infantry, but in which

" his cavalry could do nothing, whilst I had " all my troops at my disposal.

" The capture of Genoa entirely changed the " face of affairs. From that moment the ene- " my had a secure retreat and very advantageous " positions: he could retire to Genoa and de- " fend himself there, by receiving provisions " by sea; or place batteries on the heights of " Babbio, and in spite of all my efforts enter " Placentia,—retake Mantua and Peschiera,— " place himself in communication with Austria, " and oblige me to carry on a defensive war:" " —my plan of campaign was frustrated. An " expedient offered itself to my mind, and I " resolved to risk the attempt. I left Milan, " made 32 leagues in seven hours, and fought " the battle of Montebello.—We won it; and " that victory obliged the enemy to evacuate " Genoa; but it also weakened my army, " and I was reduced to draw reinforcements " from the divisions stationed on the other " side of the Po, to defend the entrance into " the Milanese States. It is true that these " divisions were not more than three leagues " from me; but they could not join me under " three days' march, being obliged to pass

" through Placentia or Stradella. Another " circumstance also operated against me. The " country between Montebello and Alessandria " is an extensive plain, very favourable to the " German cavalry. I nevertheless made up " my mind to make a partial attack, for I was " placed in an extraordinary situation, and risk- " ed little to gain a great deal.—If I should be " beaten, I retired to my entrenched camp " at Stradella, crossed the Po over my five " bridges, protected by my batteries, without " the possibility of opposition on the part of " the enemy; joined my first division with the " corps of Moncey, Lecchy, and Turreau; al- " lowed one of the corps of Melas to pass the " Po (which was all he wished for), and then " superior in number, I could attack him with " all my forces. — If I should be victorious, " I obtained the same results. The army of " Melas, blocked up between us and the river, " would have been obliged to lay down its arms, " and to surrender all its forts.—Had I been " beaten, which I think was impossible, I should " have engaged a *regular* war, and called in " the aid of Switzerland.

" Determined to give battle, I ordered an " account to be presented to me of the effective

"state of my army. I had altogether twenty-
"six thousand men, and Melas had forty thou-
"sand; of whom eighteen thousand were ca-
"valry.—At two o'clock in the morning a
"report was brought to me that the enemy had
"attacked our vanguard, and that our troops
"were giving way. The French soldier does
"not like to be attacked; our troops were fall-
"ing back rather in disorder, the enemy had
"already taken some prisoners, and we had lost
"a league and a half of ground in our retreat.

"The generals commanding the vanguard,
"Lannes, Murat, and Berthier, sent me mes-
"sage after message, informing me that their
"troops were flying, and that they could not
"stop them.—They asked me to send them
"reinforcements, and entreated me to march
"with my reserve. I answered to all, 'Hold
"out as long as you can; and when you can
"no longer maintain your ground, retire.' I
"perceived that the Austrians had not engaged
"their reserve; and in such cases the great
"point is to endeavour to oblige the enemy to
"employ all his forces, whilst we husband our
"own, and to induce him to attack our
"flanks before he perceives his mistake; for
"the difficulty is to force him to bring for-

" ward his reserve. The enemy had forty-four " thousand men against twenty thousand at " most, and even those twenty thousand were " in disorder. Melas had, therefore, only to " follow up his success.—I placed myself in " front of the first legion, in a rich uniform, and " at the head of a demi-brigade attacked and " drove back the Austrians, and broke through " their ranks. Melas, seeing me at the head " of my army, and his own legions repulsed, " thought that I had arrived with my reserve " to stop the troops that were retreating; and, " therefore, advanced with the whole of his " own reserve, consisting of six thousand Hun- " garian grenadiers, the flower of his infantry. " This corps filled up the gap I had made, " and attacked us in our turn.—I then gave " way, and during a retreat of half a league, " exposed to their fire, I rallied the whole " army, and re-formed its line of battle. As " soon as I had joined my reserve, consisting " of six thousand men and 15 pieces of can- " non, under the orders of Dessaix, who was " then my sheet-anchor, by a rapid manœu- " vre I deployed all my forces, formed with " my army the two wings of the division of " Dessaix, and opposed to the enemy six thou-

" sand men of fresh troops. A powerful dis-
" charge of artillery, and a desperate charge
" with bayonets, broke through their line and
" cut off the two wings.—I then ordered
" Kellerman to attack with eight hundred
" horse; he advanced, and with these eight
" hundred horse separated the six thousand
" Hungarian grenadiers from the remainder
" of the army, before the very eyes of the
" Austrian cavalry. This cavalry, however,
" was half a league off, and required a quar-
" ter of an hour to arrive on the field of ac-
" tion; and *I have observed that it is always*
" *those quarters of an hour that decide the fate of*
" *a battle.* The troops of Kellerman threw the
" Hungarian grenadiers upon our infantry, and
" they were immediately taken prisoners. The
" Austrian cavalry now arrived; but our infantry
" was in a line with its artillery in front, and a
" dreadful discharge and a barrier of bayonets
" obliged this body of cavalry to fall back, and
" it retired rather in disorder. I then followed
" with three regiments that had just joined me—
" it deployed; I drove it before me, and a great
" part of it was drowned in attempting to pass
" the bridge of the Bormida, which is very nar-
" row; what remained was pursued till dark.

"I learnt after the battle, from some general "officers, that the Austrians, even in the midst "of their first successes, were not without feeling a degree of uneasiness; they had a secret "foreboding of their defeat. During the action "they questioned our prisoners, and asked "them, 'Where is General Bonaparte?'—'In "the rear-guard.'—And those who had already "fought against me in Italy, and who knew my "custom of *reserving myself for the end*, exclaimed, '*Our task is not yet over!*' They "also confessed, that on seeing me in the first "line they had been completely deceived by "the stratagem, and had believed that my reserve was engaged.

"In all battles a moment occurs when "the bravest troops, after having made the "greatest efforts, feel disposed to fly. That "terror proceeds from a want of confidence in "their own courage; and it only requires a "slight opportunity, a pretence, to restore confidence to them: the great art is to give rise "to the opportunity, and to invent the pretence.

"At Arcole I won the battle with twenty-"five horsemen; I seized that moment of lassi-

" tude in the two armies; I perceived that the " Austrians, although old soldiers, would not " have been sorry to be in their camp; and that " our Frenchmen, however brave, wished them- " selves under their tents.—The whole of my " forces had been engaged. I had been obliged " to re-form them in order of battle several " times, and had only twenty-five guides left. " These I sent on the flank of the enemy, with " three trumpets sounding the charge. A general " cry was heard throughout the Austrian ranks " of *'Here is the French cavalry!'* and they " fled. It is true that the proper moment " must be seized; one minute sooner or later " that attempt would have proved useless, even " though I had sent two thousand horse; for the " infantry would have made a conversion cover- " ed by its artillery, and opened its fire, and " the cavalry would not even have attacked.

" You thus see that two armies are two " bodies which meet and endeavour to frighten " each other; a moment of panic occurs, and " that moment must be turned to advantage. " All that is merely the effect of a mechanical " and moral principle; it only requires habit; " and when a man has been present in many

" actions he distinguishes that moment without " difficulty; it is as easy as the casting up of " an addition!

" The first time I entered Italy, I found there " a government rather despotic, it is true, but " whose administration was mild. But now " every thing was altered; the country was agi- " tated by a most furious re-action, and every " individual who had had any thing to do with " us, had been thrown into prison and fined. I " had appointed men of the Austrian party to " various situations in the Cisalpine Republic, " because my system is to neutralize the sen- " timents of the great mass of the people, in " order that the country where I make war " may not become a closed arena; well, all " these persons so placed by me had been " looked upon with an evil eye on account of " the hatred borne to revolutionists. Add to " this, that the English, the Russians, and the " Turks, by despising the religion of the coun- " try in proportion to the scrupulousness with " which they observe their own, had quite in- " disposed the Italians, who pay much more at- " tention to the outward forms of religion than " we do in France. The German paper-money " also was at a discount of sixty per cent., and yet

"the inhabitants were obliged to receive it as "coin. This circumstance completed the entire "estrangement of the affection of the Italians "from Austria; and when the former saw that "we paid for every thing in cash, they were de- "lighted, and exclaimed—'Here are the French "Louis' come back again!' (*Ecco i Luigi di "Francia tornati!*")

"The church of Our Lady of Loretto was "used as barracks for a Turkish corps. I had "not much difficulty in ranging the Italians on "my side: I said to them, 'The Austrians call "themselves the defenders of your religion, and "they bring you a regiment of Englishmen—of "people who burn the Pope regularly once a "year; legions of Russians, who have been "heretics and schismatics ever since the 15th "century; and, to crown the whole, Turks, "Mahometans, a race of unbelievers! whilst I "am Catholic, have fought against the Turks, "and am almost a crusader.'

"I gave several situations in the Government "of the Cisalpine Republic to priests. The "Italian priests are remarkable for tolerance, "and do not form a separate and powerful "corps, as formerly the clergy of France did. "Accustomed, besides, to see their country in-

" vaded twice every century, they lift up their " hands as often as you please, and take any oath " required of them. In short, I found them just " what I wanted. In Italy I made use of some " priests, in Egypt I filled the administration " with them. We could not speak the lan- " guage of the country, and wanted some in- " termediate agent between us and the people; " and the character of these priests, and their " riches, gave them a certain influence. Besides, " they are cowards, who do not understand " the use of arms, nor know how to ride on " horseback."

24th. — Fever and slight head-ach; the Emperor cannot sleep. Continuation of the same symptoms. I ordered foot baths and simple enemas.

25th. — The Emperor had passed a more favourable night; the fever had yielded to abundant perspiration, and he was altogether better.

He was upon his usual text, and spoke of Corsica; of its mountains, and of the happy moments he had passed there. He afterwards mentioned Paoli: " He was a very great man," said Napoleon; " I loved him, and he was very " much attached to me and to all my family.

" We were at Corte when he adopted the fatal " resolution of bringing the island of Corsica " under the dominion of England. At first he " concealed his intention from me, and Gentili " was equally silent on the subject; but some " words, that escaped inadvertently, awakened " a suspicion in my mind; I recapitulated all " I had seen and heard, and no longer enter- " tained any doubts as to their intention. Our " ideas and sentiments were widely different on " this occasion, and I several times indirectly " gave them to understand that such was the " case. However, as I commanded a corps of " national guards, it became necessary to put " me into the secret; they did not despair of " changing my ideas, and overcoming my an- " tipathy, and proposed to me to act in concert " with them. But this was far from being my " intention: I was ardently devoted to France, " and would not begin by betraying her; still, " in order to escape, it was necessary to gain " time, and I therefore asked to reflect a little " before I decided. Paoli's friendship was dear " to me, and I was grieved at the idea of a rup- " ture with him; but my country was my polar " star! I retired, and proceeded to Bocognano. " On arriving there I was seized by the moun-

"taineers who had pursued me, put into confine-
"ment, and guarded by forty men. The situa-
"tion was a critical one; nevertheless I found
"means to extricate myself from it. The Captain
"who guarded me was a good-natured man, all
"attention to me, and who endeavoured to ex-
"cuse himself for being under the necessity of
"obeying the orders he had received; the execu-
"tion of which, he said, was peculiarly painful to
"him on this occasion. I entered into conver-
"sation with him, and he proposed to me to go
"out with him and breathe the fresh air. I
"accepted, and directed my servant to station
"himself on the road at a distance of about five
"or six hundred paces. Suddenly I feigned a
"most imperious necessity to satisfy the wants of
"nature—my gaoler believed me, and stepped
"aside, and I was on my horse before he had
"turned his head. He cried out, hallooed,
"called to arms, but swift as the wind I was
"out of reach before he could fire, and arrived
"at Ajaccio. The mountaineers were, however,
"at my heels, and I found myself obliged to
"ask an asylum of a friend. Barberi received
"me, and conducted me to the coast, from
"whence I went to Calvi to join Lacombe St.
"Michel. I had escaped from partisans, posts,

" and police; all had been unavailing: Paoli
" was grieved and vexed beyond measure. He
" wrote, complained, threatened; my brothers
" and myself had betrayed, he said, his in-
" terests and those of our country, and did not
" deserve the sentiments he entertained for us;
" nevertheless we might return—his arms were
" open to receive us; but if, for the last time, we
" were deaf to his advice, and insensible to his
" offers, he should no longer have any mercy.
" The execution of this threat was as prompt
" as the answer to it had been scornful; he
" seized our flocks, burnt, pillaged, and de-
" stroyed all our property. We did not inter-
" fere to save it, but having excited the patriots,
" we ran to their assistance. The citadel was
" occupied, and kept up an incessant fire; so
" that, finding it impossible to land, we went
" and anchored opposite to the north of the gulf.
" The insurgents followed us: I had had time
" to land a few guns, and I covered them with
" grape-shot. They, however, returned, loaded
" me with reproaches, expressing their indigna-
" tion that one of theirs should fight for France.
" They had climbed upon trees, and heights,
" and wherever they hoped to be better heard
" from: I loaded with a cannon-ball, aimed,

" fired, and cut down a branch upon which one " of these orators was perched. He fell—his " fall amused the mob; it dispersed, and was " seen no more. We returned to Calvi, and " tried again a few *coups-de-main*, which were " not all to our disadvantage; but the English " had landed, the mountaineers inundated the " plain—we could not oppose the storm.

" My mother went to Marseilles; she ex- " pected to find there a spirit of patriotism, " and to meet with a reception proportioned to " the sacrifices she had made; but she scarcely " could obtain a safe asylum. All had given " way; my presence was no longer of any use " in Corsica,—I left it and went to Paris. The " *fédérés* had just delivered up Toulon, the " future was big with events, and I did not " despair that amongst the number one might " arise which would re-establish our affairs. " They were much in want of such an event, " for the mountaineers had completly ruined " them, and but for the revolution they were " irretrievably lost. The harm done to us by " Paoli had not sufficed to estrange me from " him; I loved him, and never ceased to regret " him. He was tall, his attitude was noble, " he spoke well, knew the Corsicans and

"exercised unlimited influence over them. "Equally skilful in discovering the importance "of a military position or of a measure of ad- "ministration, he fought and governed with "a degree of tact and sagacity which I have "never seen but in him. During the war for "liberty I accompanied him in his excursions, "and he explained to me, as we proceeded, the "advantages of the ground we passed over, the "best way to render it available and to remedy "its defects. I recollect that one day as we "were going to Port-Neuf, at the head of a large "detachment, I submitted to him some obser- "vations upon the ideas he had expressed. He "listened to me very attentively, and looking "steadfastly at me when I had done:—'Ah! "Napoleon,' said he, 'you are not of this age— "your sentiments are those of the men de- "scribed by Plutarch. Courage! you will rise in "the world.'—And so I did; but he was obliged "to yield to fate, and took refuge in England, "where he resided at the period of the ex- "peditions of Italy and Egypt. Every one of "my victories transported him with joy; to "hear him celebrate and exalt my success, it "might have been supposed that we were on "the same footing of intimacy as we had been.

" When I was raised to the Consulate, and after-
" wards to the Empire, it was worse still; party
" followed party, and dinner succeeded dinner,
" and nothing was heard but shouts of joy and
" satisfaction. The head of the state was dis-
" pleased at these manifestations of enthusiasm,
" and Paoli was sent for.—'Your reproaches
" are just,' said the latter, 'but Napoleon is one
" of mine: I have seen him grow up—I foretold
" his fortune. Can you expect me to detest his
" glory, to disinherit my country of the honour
" he does her?'—I felt for that great man all the
" sentiments he had for me: I wished to recall
" him and give him a share of power, but I was
" overwhelmed with the multiplicity of affairs;
" time passed,—he died, and I had not the sa-
" tisfaction of making him a witness of the
splendour that surrounded me."

26th.—The Emperor continues better.

Some ships had anchored off the island, and several passengers had landed in the hope of seeing Napoleon. I saw them coming with Lowe. " They come from India," said the Emperor to me, " and I should like to ask them
" some questions; but this Calabrian inspires
" me with too much disgust. I shall not receive
" them. Hudson is the *Paria* of St. Helena—he

"corrupts every thing he sees or touches; he "forms a mixture of stupidity and low cunning, "against which I know not what kind of in- "stinct forewarns me—I will not see them." And he began to discourse about India. He had not, he said, properly attacked that country; he had gone to work by way of Persia, and it was not through that quarter that the attempt ought to have been made; but the adventurers he had sent into those regions had leagued with the Presidencies and betrayed the Nabobs: he would have nothing more to do with them. "I had for some time," continued he, "intended "to send two or three thousand *Chouans** on "the Jumna;† they asked to go and to have "Bourmont for their chief, and I should have "acted wisely in allowing them. French blood "is always good opposed to a foreign foe; I "should have been rid of those old *habitués* of "discord; I should not have foolishly dragged "some of them to Waterloo, and a great disaster "would not have taken place. But every one "must fulfil his destiny—nobody can command "it. I have shown to France what she can "do—let her execute it.

* Insurgent Royalists in the West of France.

† A river in India.

27th.—The Emperor had passed a bad night, but the general state of his health had not suffered from it.

" Well, Doctor, how do you find me? am I " better?" said he, extending his arm towards me, whilst he was reading at the same time.— " Your Majesty is at least not worse. It is those pills—(the box was open, and he had not taken any:) they possess some efficacy."— " No doubt."—" They disengage the humours." —" Ah!"—" They keep the bowels open."— " Assuredly, they possess every virtue in the " world," said Napoleon, throwing down his book. " Why, zounds! Doctor, you preach for " your pills with more fervour than is used in " favour of legitimacy now-a-days. Do you " take any yourself?"—I laughed.—" Very " well; I understand you,—the sermon for your- " self, and the physic for the patient; is it not " so? Believe me, we had better leave off all " these remedies; life is a fortress which nei- " ther you nor I know any thing about; why " throw obstacles in the way of its defence? " its own means are superior to all the appa- " ratus of your laboratories. Corvisart candidly " agreed, that all your filthy preparations and " mixtures are good for nothing. Medicine

" is a collection of uncertain prescriptions which " kill the poor, and succeed sometimes with the " rich; and the results of which, collectively " taken, are more fatal than useful to mankind. " Speak to me no more about these fine things; " I am not a man for drugs."

I endeavoured to combat the theories he had formed; I was serious, and felt grieved on considering all the consequences they might produce. " You appear thoughtful and downcast, " Doctor; what is the matter with you? Have " I found out the weak part of the armour?"— " Sire, there are medicines the efficacy of which has been tried and proved." — " Like those " that Corvisart used to give to the Empress; " pills composed of crumbs of bread, but which " operated with excellent effect. Maria Louisa " one day extolled their virtues:—they are all " alike."—" No, Sire." — " What an obstinate " man; just what I expected."—" Facts . . ."— " Are visible, and causes are occult, but I am one " of yours—I have practised."—" You, Sire?"— " Myself."—" But your Majesty did not prescribe?"—" Can you ask me such a question? " What would have become of my dignity? I " should have been looked upon as an intruder." —" You chose your remedies, and they were not

unpleasant to take."—"Sometimes, but generally "speaking I did not draw them from the apo- "thecary's shop; water, air, and cleanliness, "were the chief articles of my pharmacopœia, "and I seldom had recourse to any other means. "You laugh at my method; do so: your col- "leagues in Egypt laughed at it also; but ex- "perience demonstrated that my flannel and "brush were preferable to their pills. I under- "stand you, sir; I see that, like a worthy Chris- "tian, you are surprised at my ablutions; but "we were destroyed by the plague and by "assassination. The Arabs murdered my sol- "diers, and the doctors refused to attend them. "I could not forsake them in their miserable "condition; I vainly endeavoured to animate "the courage of the professional men whose "devotion is generally so conspicuous, and pu- "nished one of them who had shewn himself "more pusillanimous than the others, by de- "grading him, and causing him to be walked "through the streets of Alexandria with a "board, upon which was written, '*He is not a "Frenchman—he fears death.*' Still the igno- "miny of one did not restore energy to the "others; the service was carried on tamely, "and the ravages of the disorder remained

"unabated. I made some advances to the "Cheiks, and ordered the troops to encamp; "tranquillity was restored, the malady ceased, "and I derived great advantage from the step "I had taken. However, approve or blame "as you think proper, here is the ordinance:—

"Cairo, 9th Pluviose, VIIth Year of the Republic.

"TO GENERAL MARMONT.

"I suppose, Citizen-General, that you have changed the system of service of Alexandria, and that you have placed small and permanent posts in the various batteries. On the height of the observatory, and at the battery *des Bains*, for instance, you will have placed twelve or fifteen men, who are not to go out of it, and whom you will keep there cut off from all communication. The sentry required to guard the post will be taken from those twelve or fifteen men. Your position with respect to the sea relieves you from the necessity of exercising any considerable degree of *surveillance* at this moment, and you therefore want but few troops. Why do you employ grenadiers for the service of the town? I cannot comprehend the obstinacy of Commissary Michaux in remaining in his house, since it is infected by the plague.

Why does he not go and place himself on a hill near the column of Pompey?

"All your battalions are at least half a league distant from each other; keep but a small number in town; and it being the most dangerous post, do not keep any chosen troops there.... Place the battalion of the 75th under those trees where you have long been stationed with the 4th regiment of light infantry. Let it bivouac there, and let all communication between that battalion and the town and Egypt be strictly forbidden. Send the battalion of the 85th towards Marabon, where it can easily be furnished with supplies by sea. With respect to the unfortunate demi-brigade of light infantry, order the men to be stripped stark naked, and bathed in the sea: let every man scrub himself well from head to foot, and thoroughly wash his clothes; and see that they keep themselves clean in future. No more parades, no more guards: let every one remain in the camp. Order a large pit to be dug filled with quick lime, to throw the dead in.

"From the moment a French house is infected with the plague, let the individuals belonging to it be either in camp or barracks; but let them carefully avoid the house, and let them be placed in reserve in the open air.

Lastly, order every one to wash his hands and face every day, and to keep himself clean.

"If you cannot preserve the whole of the corps where the disorder has appeared, from the contagion; preserve, at least, the majority of your garrison. It appears to me, that you have not yet taken any measures commensurate with the circumstances in which you are placed."

"He was amusing himself with corresponding with Menou; he was writing, joking, losing time, and only busying himself about the turban and the wife of that old fool.—'Those blindfold marriages are very dangerous,' said the one.—'They have succeeded in my case,' rejoined the other.—'Is Madame handsome?'—'She is very desirable.'—'Shall you use the privilege?'—'No; *' and a hundred fooleries of the same kind; but read on."

"If I had not at Alexandria some depôts which I cannot do without, I should have already told you to go with your garrison and encamp three leagues off, in the desert. I know that you cannot now do this, but approach as near to it as you can. Endeavour to impress on your

mind the spirit of the instructions contained in this letter; execute them in as far as they are practicable, and I hope you will derive some benefit from them.

"BONAPARTE."

28th.—The Emperor had suffered in the night with acute pains in the liver. He was better this morning.

I was relating to the Emperor the discussions I had heard at Florence respecting the nobility of his family, and the causes of its emigration. "Those causes are very simple," said he. "The "last of my ancestors who inhabited Tuscany, "professed the same principles as I do: he de- "fended them as I defended mine; and, like "me, he fell a victim to them. The foreign "faction prevailed, the national party was de- "feated and outlawed, and Bonaparte sought "an asylum, first at Sarzana, and afterwards in "Corsica. But the family intercourse did not "cease; his descendants continued to corre- "spond with the members of the branch that "was settled at San Miniato, and addressed to "them those of their children whom they wish- "ed to send to study at Pisa. That branch is "now extinct; the good Canon, of whom I "spoke to you, was the last shoot of it. He

" died,—I forget now in what year,—and left " me his fortune, which I devoted to the assist- " ance of the suffering classes in Tuscany. My " own nobility dates from Millesimo, Rivoli, " and from the 18th Brumaire, when I defeat- " ed the plots laid against the nation. The " nobility of my family is more ancient, its " origin is lost in the obscurity of the middle " age: the genealogist Joseph alone could trace " it to its source; he pretends to be descended " from I know not how many obscure tyrants.

" Attempts were frequently made to bring " my vanity into play on that subject, but " the bait would not take: I never would " listen to any of these suggestions. After the " battle of Arcole, when I was general-in-chief " of the army of Italy, the whole population of " Treviso came out to meet me. My ancestors " had held the first rank in that city; they pre- " sented me the acts and parchments that proved " it, and offered me the sovereignty which my " family had lost. At Bologna, Marescalchi, " Caprara, and Aldini came by order of the " Senate to lay before me the golden book, " in which the name and the arms of my " family were inscribed. At a later period I " was obliged to advance as far as Tolentino.

" I was unwilling to display bayonets before " priests, or to wage war with a saint; but " seventy-five thousand Frenchmen had already " been murdered under his reign: it was too " much—I resolved to put an end to it. All " those who surrounded me insisted upon over- " throwing the *idol;* but France had become " Catholic again: it was necessary to render the " revolution popular, to use the influence of the " priesthood, and I therefore had recourse to " negotiations. Besides, we obtained rich pro- " vinces, and the port of Ancona, whence one " might in twenty-four hours pass into Mace- " donia—that was a fine result. The Pope's " envoys exclaimed against my victories, and " the rapidity with which Italy had been con- " quered and the Austrians defeated. 'I was,' " said one of them to me, 'the first French- " man that had marched against Rome since " the Connétable de Bourbon; and what was " rather singular, the history of the first ex- " pedition had been written by one of the an- " cestors of the man who commanded the second.' " The expedition of Egypt and the Consulate " put all the genealogists in motion; every " parchment was turned over, and consulted. " I was allied to the ancient house of Este, to

" that of England; in short, it is impossible " to say to whom I did not belong. The Duke " of Feltre was particularly anxious about these " researches. A female of the Bonaparte family " had married a Medici, another had given " birth to Paul V., a third to I know not what " other personage. I was allied to sceptres and " tiaras by the women, and to literary fame by " the men. The latter had distinguished them- " selves as historians and dramatists, in juris- " prudence and in diplomacy. Have you read " '*The Widow?*' or, at least, have you heard of " it whilst you were at Florence?" I replied in the negative. " It is an old play," continued the Emperor, " but not devoid of interest; the " manuscript of it is at Paris, in the national " library. The author was a distinguished " writer, who is much spoken of in Mazzu- " chelli's Biography of the writers of Italy. It " was he who instituted, at the university of " Pisa, the class of jurisprudence, which after- " wards became so celebrated.

" But to return to the attempts that were " made to prove that I am nobly descended. " We were in the year 1810; and yielding to " the proposals I had refused in 1805, I had " allied myself to Austria. The Emperor

" Francis, who thought much more of the lus-
" tre derived from parchments, than of that ac-
" quired by victory, ordered all the archives of
" Italy and Germany to be searched, and at
" last succeeded in finding the documents he
" wanted. He informed me of the circumstance,
" and begged me to allow him to publish them;
" but I excused myself in the best way I
" could, and refused. He insisted, wrote to me,
" spoke to me about it again when we were
" at Dresden, and could not at all understand
" whence proceeded my repugnance to consent
" to his wishes; for, after all, it was an honour to
" be descended from a family of sovereigns, as
" he could prove that mine was, by producing
" the title-deeds and documents he had obtain-
" ed. 'Those titles,' said I, 'are too ancient for
" me; mine date only from Millesimo.'—'You
" date from a much earlier period."—'No, I go no
" higher.'—'But....' He understood at last that
" I prided myself more upon being the Rodolph
" of my own family, than the descendant of some
" odious legitimate.—'A Sovereign family!—
" Maria Louisa must be informed of this dis-
" covery; she will appreciate the value of it—it
" will please her; do tell Maria Louisa of it.'
" I requested him to make the communication

" himself, and did not conceal from him the " little importance I attached to affairs of that " nature. He felt hurt at the manner in which " I received what he thought would have been " a most agreeable surprise prepared for me. " His care and trouble had been thrown away; " I despised titles, and was, after my disasters, " a mere jacobin. Had I consented to this " foolery, who knows but that there might have " been one hundred thousand men less on the " plains of Leipsic?"

29th.—The Emperor's health in the same state. He was arranging his nails, and brush and scissars succeeded each other rapidly. He examined his hand for some time without saying a word, and suddenly asked me several questions. " What are the nails? What " is the beard, the epidermis? * How are " they formed? What are their functions, " their structure? You have not explained " that to me very clearly; begin again."—" Sire, as I told your Majesty, the epidermis is divided into two layers, one exterior and the other interior. One is thin, transparent, unalterable by the air; the other is opaque. The first, of a close and firm texture, is composed of small and

* Scarfskin.

delicate absorbent vessels, proceeding from the inhalent orifices which cover the surface of that membrane. The second, which is placed underneath, reposes upon the *papillæ*, and extends over the intervals which separate them. It is composed of the same vessels, but they are considerably larger, and contain numerous orifices which line the internal surface. These two layers are united by a multitude of small trunks and lymphatic vessels passing from one to the other, and serving to bind them together. The absorbents, which form the internal layer of the epidermis, are filled with a kind of matter, which is black in some individuals and opaque in others; and produces the difference between the negro and the white man:—such is the epidermis. Its use is as follows: the numerous inhalent orifices of the absorbent vessels, which are heaped together and occupy the whole of the external surface of that membrane, are thin, slender, capillary, and only admit substances in the state of gas; the inhalent orifices of the second layer, which are, as we have already said, stronger and larger, are capable of receiving liquids: and thus the use of the epidermis is to absorb foreign substances, and repair the losses of the human frame.

" Hair, feathers, bristles, and consequently the beard, perform the same functions. Implanted in the fat cellular membrane, they are surrounded by two tubes, the second of which contains small glands filled with a tallowy substance, whence oozes an unctuous liquid, which lubricates them, and tends to preserve them. Their texture is thicker, and composed of capillary vessels which absorb the particles floating in the air, and pour them into the circulation. The scales of fishes and the feathers of birds differ in that respect, inasmuch only as the first absorb liquids and the others only admit aëriform fluids. Women have more hair on the head, and we have more on the body: but the object of both is merely to pour out and to draw from the air; consequently the hair is more abundant and stronger, in proportion as the part where it grows is more subject to perspiration. See how admirably it is adapted to the use for which nature has intended it. Of the two sets of vessels which compose it, some run from the extremity of the hair towards the root, and their office is to draw in the aëriform fluids; the others go from the root to the extremity, and convey the oily substances contained in the skin. They restore the equilibrium, which

many causes tend to disturb; they collect what is wasted by perspiration, compensate for losses, and repair disorders."—"So then, Doctor, hairs "are leaves?"—"Yes, Sire, the comparison is exact; it is the same principle of action."—"To "absorb, throw out, form new combinations, con- "stitute life?"—"Yes, Sire, the epidermis and the hair have no other use."—"And we cut "it!"—"It is an abuse."—"We shave!"—"It is contrary to nature."—"What, then, would you "have us look like *Capucins?* * Why, Doctor, "you have now explained to me the reason for "using hair in the construction of hygrometers." —"Yes, Sire; the property which suits them for that purpose is a consequence of their structure." —"And the nails?"—"Are composed of the same vessels as the epidermis; but their texture is thicker and more compact than the epidermis, of which they form the prolongation."

30th.—I knew that the Emperor was better; and being tormented by the gnats, I went to take a ride on horseback. "What! you have already "been out?" said Napoleon to me on my return. "Yes, Sire, I have been endeavouring to escape from being stung."—"And I from devastations. "Here, see how the rats run about my room!

* Friars who suffer their beards to grow.

" They have almost destroyed the partition wall:
" every thing is eaten through in these mise-
" rable cabins. But you have not told me
" what has struck you most in your excursions:
" what have you observed?"—" A few plants and
shrubs."—" Steeps and ravines! Nature in con-
" vulsion."—" But, Sire, after having doubled the
Munder .... "—" Well?"—" The prospect ex-
pands, and you perceive James-Town."—" And
" a fine prospect it is! a few wretched hovels over-
" hung by rocks, squeezed up between mountains
" as if they were to be smashed by them."—
" That renders the point of view more pictu-
resque." — " Picturesque indeed! About a
" hundred cabins built of mud and stone, scat-
" tered about in the bottom of a ravine; military
" posts, an hospital, and a church, in keeping
" with the rest—such is the romantic picture!"
—" But Plantation-House?"—" It is the Oasis
" of the desert. Built close against a chain of
" mountains, it is sheltered from being dried up
" by the south-east winds: plants, shrubs, of the
" most opposite natures, grow and thrive there,
" and present to the eye an aspect of vegeta-
" tion which is seen on no other part of the
" island. The spot is *unique* of its kind, like
" the *Calabrian* who inhabits it: but one is

" not more a favourable specimen of the island,
" than the other is an unfavourable one of man-
" kind."—" There are places worse than . . . ."—
" No! there are none like that where we are.
" No shade, no verdure; we have only a few
" gum-trees, and they are mutilated; the wind
" has bent them in the direction in which it
" blows. At the height at which we are (two
" thousand feet) vegetation and life cease.
" British magnanimity had its motives for
" hoisting me up here."—" But, Sire. . . ."—" I
" know it. A few vegetables escape from the
" baneful influence of this spot, but we cannot
" draw from them a conclusion respecting us;
" they are more hardy and vivacious, exposed
" to fewer chances: that was well known; and
" it was equally so, that men cannot live long
" in regions where the vegetation of plants is
" weak and slender: all that was taken into
" account in their calculation. — Is not the
" length of a life in St. Helena ascertained?
" Are there any aged people to be seen here?
" many individuals who reach the age of fifty?
" and amongst those labouring under hepa-
" titis, how many die, and how many live?
" Anxiety, sufferings, a prolonged state of
" moral nullity—such is the lot of the most

" fortunate. How should they recover? They
" inhale the air; and each breath is like the
" wound of a pin, which cooperates to hasten
" their destruction.—Such were the intentions
" of noble England, when she treacherously en-
" snared me; and such the novel manner in
" which she perpetrates destruction."

31st.—The Emperor was uneasy and agitated: I advised him to take some calming medicine which I pointed out to him. " Thanks,
" Doctor," said he; " I have something bet-
" ter than your pharmacy. The moment ap-
" proaches, I feel, when Nature will relieve her-
" self." In saying this he threw himself upon a chair, and seizing his left thigh, tore it open with a kind of eager delight. His scars opened anew, and the blood gushed out. " I told you
" so, Doctor; I am now better. I have my pe-
" riods of crisis, and when they occur I am saved."
A kind of lymph issued at first abundantly, but soon ceased to flow, and the wound closed of itself.
" You see," said Napoleon, " that Nature in this
" case wants no assistance; when there is a su-
" perabundance, an over-fulness, she expels the
" excess and the equilibrium is restored."

This singular phenomenon excited my curiosity; I enquired into every circumstance con-

nected with it, and ascertained that it was of regular occurrence, and dated from the siege of Toulon. The Emperor, who was then only a colonel, commanded the fire of a battery, when a gunner fell dead by his side: he took up the rammer, loaded and fired the cannon, and being in a state of perspiration, imbibed the infection of the itch, with which the soldier was covered. He commenced a treatment, but the impatience of youth, the activity of the service, and a wound received from a bayonet above the knee, soon obliged him to discontinue it. The eruption disappeared, and the humour was absorbed through the wound into the system. This neglect was nearly attended with fatal consequences; the virus developed itself during the campaigns of Egypt and Italy, and produced pains in the chest, incessant coughing, and difficulty of breathing.

The first Consul was thin, pale, and wan, and seemed to be near the term of his existence. "All around me," said Napoleon, "beset me then with representations upon my indifference: but as it did not impede the march of affairs, I took no notice of what they said. At last, however, their solicitations became so pressing, that I consented to take the ad-

" vice of a physician. Desgenettes was pro-
" posed to me; and being indifferent as to the
" choice of one, I accepted him: but he en-
" tered into so long a dissertation, and pre-
" scribed so many medicines, that I remained
" convinced he was a mere talker, and the pro-
" fession an imposture; and I did nothing. The
" importunities commenced again: I yielded
" once more, and Corvisart was brought to
" me. He was blunt, rough, and impatient;
" and scarcely leaving me time to give him an
" account of my state of health, he said, 'Your
" complaint is nothing; it is an eruption which
" has passed into the system, and which we
" must bring back to the skin; a few days' blis-
" tering will do it.' He accordingly applied two
" blisters on the chest, and the cough disap-
" peared: I became stout, my energy returned,
" and I was able to bear the greatest fatigue.
" The sagacity of Corvisart delighted me. I
" saw that he had found out my constitution,
" that he was the proper physician for me; and
" I therefore attached him to my person, and
" loaded him with marks of my favour. At a
" later period he opened an issue in my left
" arm; but the war of Spain having broken out,
" I suffered it to close, and did not find my-

" self the worse for it. The irritation and " itching continued as usual; I opened new " wounds, and new scars were formed; the " humour found a vent, and I enjoyed perfect " health."

The Emperor's health was now re-established: he slept, bathed, walked, and led his usual life. I often accompanied him into the garden. He spoke of his campaigns, and I spoke to him of Corsica, and endeavoured to suggest topics of conversation that were pleasing to his mind. One day, after having spoken at considerable length about the troubles of that unfortunate country, he gave me an account of the services rendered by Cervoni, the supplies furnished by Arena, and the extortions the latter had been guilty of, and of the intrigues in which Moltedo had shared. " My unexpected return " from Egypt had disconcerted him; the prisons " were full; the parties in presence of each " other; the patience of the public exhausted: " the municipal authorities accused the depar- " mental, who, in their turn, accused the ma- " gistrates: exasperation and discord were the " order of the day.

" Contrary winds drove us from the coasts " of France: we sought refuge near those of

"Corsica, reached Ajaccio, and anchored in "the bay. The public bodies and the whole "population immediately ran to the sea-side: "every one was anxious to see me, and called "upon me to land; the acclamations increased "every moment. The leaders were upon "thorns; they, however, summoned up courage: "the Board of Health assembled, and decided, "after a long discussion, that I could not land. "'Express to him, at least,' said Barberi, who "presided at the Board, 'how very painful "this decision is to your feelings! and let us go "and congratulate the General upon his vic-"tories; he has well deserved that mark of "respect.' This proposal was agreed to; a "boat was taken, and they directed their course "towards the frigate *La Muiron*. The sailors "threw out ropes; Barberi got on board the "first, and the others followed him; I was then "invited to land. I had no suspicion that the "President took advantage of the circumstance, "and exceeded his powers; I thought the in-"vitation unanimous, accepted, and landed "with all my suite. I was received as a man "is sometimes received by his countrymen; "acclamations resounded in all directions.

"The troops were under arms: poor, misera-

" ble objects! they had neither shoes nor cloth-
" ing. I asked where the chest was; but no
" money had been paid into it for seven months.
" And the paymaster had made advances, and
" raised upon his own bond 40,000 francs,
" which he had distributed amongst the diffe-
" rent corps, in order to ensure the subsistence
" of the soldiers, and to satisfy the innkeepers
" who refused to supply the officers. I felt in-
" dignant at this disordered state of affairs;
" and having collected all the money I could
" dispose of, I ordered the arrears of pay to be
" paid up, and that the appearance of the
" troops should no longer excite compassion.
" In the evening there was a ball and illumina-
" tions; the poor vied with the rich in demon-
" strations of joy. Kind-hearted inhabitants
" of Ajaccio! I never shall forget your re-
" ception.

" The excellent Barberi had sent me notes
" and newspapers: I knew how Corsica and
" France were situated, and had an idea of the
" state of parties. A gondola manned by four-
" teen chosen sailors was to follow my frigate,
" so that I could overtake the swift-sailing
" vessels sent to Toulon, and escape from the
" English cruisers who were on the look-out.

" The next morning I received the congratula-
" tions of the civil and military authorities: I
" praised some, treated others with severity,
" and intimidated the department. The pri-
" sons were thrown open, some vacant situa-
" tions filled; doubt and mistrust vanished,
" courage returned, and in four days order,
" peace, and confidence were completely re-
" stored.

" The accomplices of Cittadella had sent
" him a messenger to inform him of my return,
" but he was detained by contrary winds. In
" the mean time I set off, arrived at Frejus,
" Grenoble, Auxerre, and did not stop until I
" reached Paris. I upset the Directory; the
" 18th Brumaire occurred; the enemies of
" France were confounded: I restored order,
" recalled victory, and established the Consulate
" government. But if winds had been favour-
" able, if the dispatches to Cittadella had ar-
" rived before me, all my plans might have
" been defeated, and France from that moment
" would have become a prey to the emigrants."

Napoleon had often spoken to me of the intrigues which had agitated his reign, and accomplished, at last, his downfall. He was acquainted with them all; knew the leaders,

their accomplices, and the places where they met. "During the hundred days I followed "their movements," said he; "I saw them run "from my presence to their assemblies; and I "might have punished, for I held the docu- "ments which convicted them. These docu- "ments had reached me in a singular manner. "A foreign officer of rank, whose situation "obliged him to listen to these plots, was in- "dignant on seeing men whom I had created "conspire to effect my ruin. He demanded "an audience, delivered up all the plans to me, "and protested that if ever his troops should be "in the line of battle I might reckon upon him. "I was deeply affected, and was on the point "of casting these wretches back into the mire "from which I had raised them; but the crisis "approached, it was necessary to conquer, and "I postponed this signal act of national justice "until after the enemy should be defeated. "The enemy, however, was not defeated; mea- "sures were too well concerted, and I fell. "Ah, Doctor! how many contemptible beings "surrounded me! But if fortune had not be- "trayed our courage, if we had conquered at "Waterloo, every thing would have been re- "paired and revenged; the nation would have

" been put in possession of the secret of our disas-
" ters; and I should have offered an expiatory
" sacrifice to the manes of my soldiers. What
" have these wretches done? they were sa-
" tiated with glory, and they have covered
" themselves with opprobrium. But every ac-
" tion meets with its due reward; for who
" would be M.....? A.....?" &c. &c. He named several individuals, and stopped at S.... " Base miscreant!" said he, " he betrayed me " with all the turpitude natural to men of his " cast. After having made his own terms, he " ran to Fontainebleau, represented to me his " situation and his misery; I divided with him " what remained in my chest, gave him a " thousand *écus*, and he left me apparently agi-
" tated by every feeling of gratitude. A few " hours afterwards he had gone over to the " Austrians."

From the plots of these last periods the Emperor passed to those that were formed at the commencement of his career; and spoke at length of the machinations which had interfered with his operations during the campaigns of Italy. He related how he had discovered and defeated them, and the light that had been thrown upon the movements of the interior

by the papers he had seized at Padua and Verona. His correspondence had given me some insight into all these intrigues; I had a general idea of them, but their details escaped me, and I could not understand many of the principal documents. "There are some from you, Sire, from Augereau, from Bernadotte. I see that you had guessed Willot; that you would not have 'men who only love liberty to lead them to revolutions;' that you gave orders that—'some individuals should not be allowed to style themselves the people, and commit crimes in its name.' You say in one of your despatches—'Revolutionists are detested here, and all are ready to oppose them, whatever their object may be. No more revolutions; that is the dearest hope of the soldier. He does not ask for peace, which is the object of his secret wishes, because he knows that it would be the only way not to obtain it, and that those who dread peace call for it loudly, in order that it may not take place. The soldier is preparing for fresh battles; and if he sometimes turns his eyes towards some towns of the interior, and observes the spirit which animates them, he is grieved to see deserters received and protected, and the laws without efficacy, at

a moment which is to decide the fate of the French nation.' In another place you ask for 'officers accustomed to fight;' you will not have 'generals skilled in scientific retreats.' You exclaim—'that you can only be overcome by disproportion of numbers; that, perhaps, the last moment of the brave Augereau, of the intrepid Massena, of Berthier, and of .... is approaching.' I understand: I trace the existence of malevolence and imbecility in the choice of officers, and in the state of abandonment in which you were left. But nothing escaped you; you spoke openly, and they took care not to commit themselves. The emigrants impeded the transports, and encouraged spies; but the army was devoted, and only lived for France and victory. But what signifies the proclamation of Augereau?"—"What proclamation? Read it to me."

"Soldiers! what have I heard? can it be that those arms, which in your hands have been the terror of Europe and the triumph of the Republic,—those victorious arms which you had devoted to the most sacred of causes, and which were once so formidable to the enemies of your country,—are now turned against her by yourselves; that your hands are stained

with French blood, and that you have polluted by fratricides the laurels with which you were crowned? What evil genius has sown discord amongst you? Who has fanned its fire? Who has spread its poison?

"I have seen my country threatened from abroad, betrayed at home, torn by civil war, tormented by factions, invaded at its frontiers, and a prey to all the horrors of anarchy: I have seen all my fellow-citizens, driven in contrary directions by opposite parties, flock under the banners of each in turn; murdering one day in the name of justice, and the next in the name of humanity: I have seen all the crimes of intolerance, fanaticism, and ambition, and I have shuddered: but in the midst of all these disorders, my eyes were turned towards the army, where I saw union, concord, and fraternity; there, all hatred and passions disappeared before the sacred fire of patriotism and honour leagued together for the defence of all: I admired the sublime example of zeal, constancy, and devotedness it displayed; and I said, if virtue, liberty, and heroism, are banished from the rest of the universe, it is there, in the Republican army, that they have a sure asylum. That consoling reflection has constantly upheld me in the most violent crisis; I felt proud of

being in your ranks: Oh, comrades! will you oblige me to alter my opinion? No; you know that I am your friend. My voice has often guided you to victory: obey the impulse it now seeks to give you. Let us argue: a single word is the cause of your dissensions,—how absurd! You believe yourselves really divided in opinion; but you are mistaken, you all think alike. When you pursued your victorious course from the Pyrenees to the banks of the Danube, and from the ocean to the banks of the Tiber, what was your object—to be free? You are free. You possess laws and rights; in a word, you are *citoyens*. This title has been dearly bought, and ought therefore to be dearly valued; and yet, either from levity or love of novelty, an unmeaning, barbarous, unharmonious name—a name without etymology—after having been proscribed by good sense, has been revived by folly, and fashion has undertaken to bring it into vogue once more. That fashion has crossed the Alps, and our ears have been offended by the whistling sound of *Monsieur*. I am far from suspecting those who have used the word of any bad intention, and I attribute their having done so to want of reflection. I know my countrymen. At first

Monsieur has been said, without attaching any importance to it: those who have been displeased with the expression, have perhaps required in too haughty a tone that it should be banished from the intercourse of society; and it has then been thought that compliance with the interdiction might be ascribed to fear. All that is quite enough to produce obstinacy on both sides, but is it enough to justify hatred and destruction?

"I have bought as dearly as any one the valuable title of *citoyen*, and I am disposed to submit to every sacrifice to preserve it: who amongst you thinks differently? Nobody, I hope. If there are any that do, let them go and carry elsewhere their baseness and their maxims; their departure will be the signal for the return of harmony and union amongst the worthy defenders of our country.

"You are now approaching the moment when you will enjoy the reward of your labours: peace will enable Government to compensate your sufferings; and I, who have constantly witnessed all the privation you have been exposed to, and all the efforts you have made; I, who know your wants, and wish to supply them, am already preparing at Verona the means of

accomplishing that object on your arrival there. Dress, equipment, arms, food, hospitals, and pay, have all been the subject of my earnest solicitude, and you will feel its effects; but I expect from you the oblivion of those dissensions which grieve my heart and cause our enemies to smile. Let the love of your country and the honour of the army produce a reconciliation; so that, when I shall appear again at your head, I may find no more traces of what has happened. I trust that these motives are powerful enough to bring you back to sentiments more worthy of yourselves, and that you will not oblige me, after having tried persuasion, to have recourse to force.

ORDER.

"General Augereau, considering that malevolence, ever ready to seize opportunities of doing harm, has taken advantage of the word *Monsieur* being used in conversation or elsewhere, to sow discord and produce confusion, and that the blood required for the defence of our country has been shed in the quarrels that have followed its adoption; considering also, that after what has occurred, those who should obstinately persist in using that word can have no other ob-

ject in view than the total ruin of the army; declares, that henceforth any individual of the division who shall use the word *Monsieur*, either verbally or in writing, under any pretence whatever, shall be degraded and rendered incapable of serving in the armies of the Republic. The present order shall be inserted in the Order of the Day, and read at the head of each company.

"AUGEREAU."

"What! degrade a man for a single word?!"

"Why not, if that word produces bloodshed, "as it did?"

"Bernadotte had gone from the army of the Rhine to that of Italy; his troops had appeared cold, stiff, and lukewarm, and had become the object of the jokes and sarcasms of the corps commanded by Massena. Anger ensued; the names of *Monsieur* and *Sans Culotte* were reciprocally given, and bloodshed followed.

"Such is the disorder which Augereau wished to repress; and his proclamation gives a faithful picture of the circumstances in which we were placed. Attempts are now made to falsify history; men incapable of appreciating our labours endeavour to turn the current of opinion; but the facts speak for themselves,

and they must at last be understood. It was not in the army of Italy that our enemies sought for traitors: from the moment it was commanded by Napoleon, the emigrants could not find in its ranks any body to seduce; the religion of its banners was the only one known. We marched, and every thing vanished before us; Italy was conquered, and Austria reduced to the last extremity. We were striking the aristocracy blow after blow; its existence was threatened, and in its own defence it espied and seized upon every opportunity of retaliation. A victory only produced fresh battles: Wurmser came to avenge Beaulieu, Alvinzi to avenge Wurmser. The army of the Rhine, which was for ever on the point of marching, never moved.

"The question was between us and them, and was soon decided: success crowned valour, and we triumphed in every direction. The General-in-chief advanced through Tyrol, penetrated into Carinthia, and drove every thing before him. He had made dispositions to be able to support his movement, and prevent the enemy from intercepting us: every chance was foreseen. Having reached Clagenfurt and taken the offensive, he directed his troops to the right, and refused his left, which was

protected by various works." — "I proposed," said the Emperor, "to occupy Salzburg and "Inspruck, to cross the Inn, to levy contribu- "tions on the suburbs of the capital, and "to march into Bavaria. The army of the "Rhine again remained inactive, and the plan "failed. If Moreau had chosen to co-operate "with me, we should have made the most "astonishing campaign that ever was fought,— "we should have upset Europe: but he went to "Paris, did nothing, attempted nothing, and "left me once more to cope with all the forces "of the Austrian monarchy. I had penetrated "into Germany without the least considera- "tion. I had taken 80,000 prisoners, and "obliged the Emperor to evacuate Vienna: but "immense levies of troops were being raised "in all directions; Hungary was flying to arms; "the Tyrol was on fire; my position was very "critical; I therefore had recourse to negotia- "tion."

The departments of the war and marine, the whole administration in short, was supported by his victories; he was obliged to supply the wants of the other armies, to secure the pay of the troops, to furnish horses, to satisfy every claim. In the space of a few months

he had sent fifty-two millions into France.—On the other hand, the Directory had attached to our rear a host of rascals who devoured every thing. Our soldiers were without shoes, money, or clothes, and the hospitals were destitute of the most essential articles: we were assailed by scarcity in the midst of plenty. It was in vain that he represented, threatened, assembled military commissions, drew bills; the commissions were seduced, and the bills dishonoured: he was alone to combat corruption; it was like the task of forcing a torrent back to its source.—"There was but one way of "putting an end to this state of things, which "was, to establish a commission possessing the "power of inflicting the punishment of death "on these pirates. The policy of the measure "was confirmed by experience and history, and "consistent with the nature of the government: "but it was not to be expected that the depre-"dators themselves would deliver up the sword "which was to strike them: the proposal was re-"jected." Every thing was exhausted: he no longer knew where to apply, and was besides aware of his political position; he therefore signed the preliminaries of Leoben. The question was now to pass from provisional to de-

finitive conditions, and lay down the basis of a permanent peace; but the democrats did not wish for peace, and the aristocrats still less; the first were anxious to municipalize Europe, and the second waited to see the result of the plots they had formed. "The Emperor will not sign," wrote confidentially the Elector of Hesse; "Clichy is averse to these transactions; and Clichy rules over Paris and its councils: the affair is, therefore, suspended for the present." "These delays did not suit "either my ideas or my views: I had seized "the papers of the party at Verona, and had "just got possession of its papers at Venice. "I discovered its plans, its means, the informa- "tion it possessed; and I knew that corrup- "tion prevailed every where, that all were "seduced, and ready to betray their trust. In "desperate cases, violent remedies must be ap- "plied: I appealed to the patriotism of the "troops; we framed an address; Augereau "carried it, and the club was confounded. "Bernadotte also contributed a great deal to "defeat the plot: I had sent him to the Di- "rectory: he ran to the *Manège*,* harangued,

* An assembly so called from holding its deliberations in a riding-school.

"speechified, and struck all the emigrants with "terror. But the collection must contain "some of his letters: look, after the affair of "Venice."—I opened the book and read:—"I laugh at the extravagance of the partisans of royalty. They must possess very little knowledge of those who lead the armies, and of the armies themselves, to hope to muzzle them so easily; or to believe that an orator more or less learned, more or less venal, can disturb our tranquillity! Those deputies who speak with so much impertinence, are far from imagining that we should enslave Europe, if you only formed the project of so doing."

"Enslave Europe! that is just like the man: "a slave in the saloon, and a brawler in the "anti-chamber, he intrigued and speechified for "ever; I do not know a man of less probity. "—But look further back; there must be "another letter."—"Your firmness and your courage alone can deliver the Republic from the frightful precipice prepared for it by the hypocrisy, perfidy, and practised criminality of the agents of the altar and the throne."—"Was he "then already plotting the conspiracy of the Con- "cordate? I recognize the style of his pamph- "lets."—"A conspiracy?"—"Yes. The generals

" who defile now-a-days before missionaries, " vergers, cross-bearers, were then indignant at " my re-opening the churches; my death was to " expiate the outrage offered to reason. Times " are much altered; but we shall return to the " subject. Read on, I wish to hear his letter."— I saw it just now; you mean that where his honour begins to totter! — " Precisely. Ho- " nour was with him what modesty is with " women—a fly; the least thing alarmed it. " He only felt secure at the *Manège*. But pro- " ceed; I am listening to you."

" TO THE GENERAL IN CHIEF.

" I saw General Kellerman in passing through Chambery, and communicated to him your notes. He answered: first, That the depôt of the 21st demi-brigade has been sent to Italy, and that it must now have arrived at Milan. Secondly, That the chief of your staff has only to order the 79th demi-brigade to march, and that he can see no objection to it. He told me that he cannot get rid of the small number of cavalry he has at Lyons; he must have written to you on the subject. He will send you swords, but he wants money.

" I have found the republican spirit grown

very lukewarm. Since my passage through the interior of the country, the counter-revolution is effecting itself in the minds of the people: the laws are without vigour; emigrants return; and the tribunals acquit part of them, and do not seek after the remainder. Many deputies say there is in the Assembly of Five Hundred a party decided for the re-establishment of royalty; another party is planning a movement to defeat this faction; but if it takes place, the commotion will be dreadful, for those who shall have excited it will no longer be able to repress it. In the midst of this conflict there is a class of men who fear anarchy as much as royalism: they say little, and are not much seen; but they wait for the proper moment to annihilate the two parties one by the other. These men always apply calming measures to the events that are preparing, and they gain time; so that by removing the period of the explosion from day to day, the Government will by degrees become firmly established, provided it acts with order and prudence.

"The Five Hundred fear the Directory, and that is enough to ensure the superiority of the latter: but to maintain it they must skilfully take advantage of circumstances as they may

occur; know how to give rise to others; and frighten, at least by appearances, those members who march openly and with rapid strides to the re-establishment of the throne. These gentlemen seem to have taken Pichegru for their mark: he is flattered, coaxed, caressed: they appear to laugh at him; and, in point of fact, the party that thrusts him forward knows very well that he is a man of very ordinary stamp. Pichegru has been base enough to abandon the Republican cause: he confounds men with events; and attempts have been made in vain to convert him. Urged to explain his sentiments, he has answered foolishly, without logic, and with the tone of a man puffed up with pride, and who fancies that his name alone is worth an army. Poor man! Alas! he is not very strong.

"The ice is broken: Pichegru is now known;—his old friends forsake him, and he loses every day a part of his colossal reputation. I met him at Kleber's with several northern generals; but we scarcely noticed each other. He had probably been informed of the way in which I had spoken of him, and he was extremely reserved. I followed his example.

"Three generals are on the lists to command

the guard of the Assembly of Five Hundred; the first is Kleber, the second Dessaix, and the third Serrurier. Every body has felt that such a command would not be very flattering for either of those three generals, and every one has made his remarks upon the subject; and the last argument seems to be this—all these three personages have a reputation, and would be very useful, in the event of a commotion, in rallying round the Legislative Body a great number of soldiers and officers of the armies in which they have served. Kleber will not accept the command. Republican from philosophy, he laughs at the perplexity of some, and at the awkwardness of others; but if ever a commotion takes place, Kleber will put his head out of the window to look at the two parties, and will go and range himself on that side where he will perceive tri-coloured cockades. He is desirous of visiting the field of your glory: I shall bring him with me, and he will be delighted to see the man whose brilliant achievements he has so often admired in the number of flags taken and prisoners made, but still more in the direction he has given to the reins of government.

"Paris is a horrible residence for a man of

honour; I am tired to death of it, and shall leave it very soon. I shall endeavour to send you some cavalry; if possible, the Richepanse division. Carnot is convinced that if the operations of the war again become active, you will want reinforcements of both cavalry and infantry. I shall speak to Barras and to Rewbell on the subject to-morrow. Adieu! I love you as much as I esteem you."

"There has been a want of sense in all that "man's proceedings which I cannot account for. "He only aspired after fame and celebrity, and "when he had the finest opportunities in the "world to acquire them, he did not avail himself "of them. At Jena he might have covered him-"self with glory: he had only to march; by so "doing he would have placed himself in the rear "of the Prussian army, and the whole would "have been taken. In Saxony, in Belgium . . . . "the result would have been *unique* in history; "but it required a soul to conceive and execute." The Emperor expatiated at great length on the offences of this general: not against himself—he did not value that; but against France, which had given him birth, and the army, to which he owed every thing. "At Austerlitz he had suf-"fered his ranks to be broken through; he had

" slumbered on the Elbe, and run away at
" Wagram. He had many times exposed our
" eagles to defeat, and had at last guided the
" savages of the Don and of Dalecarlia against
" them." Napoleon was animated and vehement. I endeavoured to turn the conversation into another channel. I thought the diplomatic career of Bernadotte irreproachable, and spoke about it. " What, his talents ? "—" But his embassy ? "—" Was a series of blunders. Dessaix
" was highly incensed against him, and Moreau
" shrugged up his shoulders: even his best
" friends condemned him."—" He hoisted our colours."—" Could he do less ? but they had no
" connection with the riot."—" The people of Vienna . . . ."—" Had been taught upon fifty
" fields of battle to respect those colours, and
" would have taken care not to insult them,
" But I had spared the emigrants in Italy ; I
" had not pursued to the last extremity a few
" unfortunate Frenchmen in the last stage of
" misery, and had incurred the blame of the
" *Manège*. It was necessary to give proofs of
" patriotism, and deserve praises. The am-
" bassador endeavoured to submit to his juris-
" diction all the emigrants that were beyond
" the Rhine. Men rejected by France were

" not amenable to his agents: they became in-
" dignant at a persecution without object; raised
" up and excited a few poor wretches; and
" thus the officious meddling of a blundering
" busy-body had well nigh re-opened the arena.
" Is that what you admire?"—" I had heard
other causes assigned to the insurrection."—
" Where? in his Memoirs?"—" I had the de-
tails from one of my friends who was at Vienna
at the time."—" And from whom did your
" friend hear them?"—" From a Pole who
possessed the confidence of Bernadotte."—
" Ja——?"—" Yes, Sire."—" The *Providence* of
" the embassy, and the guide which the Austrian
" police had had the art of giving him! and
" accordingly the *citoyen* ambassador transmitted
" precious information to Brune! If the con-
" queror of the Helder had not possessed the
" instinct necessary for that kind of war, the
" *Italian vespers* would have taken place. You
" have resided a long time in Florence, and
" have of course heard of the movements of
" Manfredini at that period?"—" No, Sire; I
only know, that in one of his clandestine jour-
neys to Vienna he was strangely frightened
by one of your soldiers."—" How so?"—" The

enemy's troops insulted our posts, and provoked them by words and gestures. 'Advance with your corporal!' cried an old Austrian sergeant to the commanding officer of a French round.—'If,' replied the Frenchman, 'you had a corporal like him, and an escort like his, you would come more openly to the point.' Manfredini, who was passing by, thought the observation intended for him; and believing himself discovered, became more circumspect. Rome broke out too soon, Bristol was taken by surprise, and the scheme failed."—"But, Doctor, "you told me, if I recollect rightly, that you "had hitherto only frequented corpses. Let "me tell you that those corpses were tolerably "well informed of the state of affairs. The "account they have given you is not true in "every particular, but neither is it altogether "false. Yet, after all, it is not impossible that "a word pronounced by chance may have had "the result you ascribe to it; the most im-"portant determinations have often been pro-"duced by circumstances quite as trivial as the "one you have just mentioned: besides, Man-"fredini had some reason to believe in the tact "of our soldiers." I endeavoured to recollect

the circumstance the Emperor was alluding to; and learnt that, in point of fact, the reddition of Mantua was due as much to their sagacity as to their courage. Alvinzi was hastening to its assistance with a numerous army, and had sent before him a confidential man, to whom he had entrusted his despatches. The sorties of the garrison were to coincide with his attacks: it was necessary to concert measures for that purpose, and he had nearly succeeded. Our lines were already passed, and the emissary was on the point of entering the fortress, when he was seized by a patrole. He was questioned and searched, but nothing was found on his person; and he was going to be placed with the mass of other prisoners, when a voltigeur present at the interrogatory took him to task. 'Where are your orders?'—'I have none.'—'You have.'—'But . . . .'—'Yes you have some, there, in your belly: confess, or my sword shall soon bring them to light.' The Austrian was disconcerted; and after some hesitation owned the fact, and was shut up in a separate room until he had been delivered of his despatches. They were enclosed in a small cylinder, covered over with a coat of wax, which was dipped in a kind of elixir to facilitate its passage. The Imperialists

had very often had recourse to that expedient; but the perspicacity of this voltigeur deterred them from attempting to use it in future.

This recalls to my mind an anecdote relating to the war with Corsica, which the Emperor often told me. Paoli was master of the island, and his mountaineers covered the plain: it was impossible to correspond with the patriots scattered about in the interior, and yet it was highly expedient to do so, and to threaten Paoli on his rear in order to prevent his marching upon us. "I was acquainted," said Napoleon, "with the friends of France; "I knew those that were devoted, and "might be relied upon, and I induced La- "combe Saint Michel to give them commis- "sions. The difficulty was, to get the com- "missions delivered; for the passes were well "guarded, and the roads covered with spies, "and success was therefore not probable: I, "however, made the attempt. I chose a cun- "ning active countryman, whom I dressed up "in the most miserable rags I could find, and "launched him amongst the mountaineers. "He was stopped at every post, and for a "length of time deceived their vigilance. On "these occasions he placed on the ground the

" gourd he carried in his hand, and encouraged " and facilitated the search of his person. ' He " had no other object,' he said, ' than to obtain " some means of supporting his existence; he " had relations at Ajaccio, who were in easy " circumstances, and he was going to implore " their compassion. Was it to be supposed " that he, in his miserable condition, would " trouble his head about any thing else? that " he would serve the French, who had des- " troyed his cottage?' He proceeded in this " manner as far as Corte; where the gendar- " merie, less confiding, cut up his clothes, from " head to foot, even to the soles of his shoes; " but nothing was found, and he was going to " be released, when some one thought it would " be better to inform Paoli. ' A man who goes " about the country to beg, in the circum- " stances in which we are placed! he must " be an emissary; go and search him, he has " some message.'—' Impossible! we have taken " his dress to pieces thread by thread; every " part of it has been undone.'—' His mission is " then verbal, for he has one; question him " again.'—' We have tried every thing.'—' What " has he about him?'—' A little gourd.'—' Break " it.' They did so, and the commissions were

"found in it. Paoli was not to be so easily "deceived."

The favourable state of the Emperor's health did not long continue: his strength was nearly exhausted; the influence of the latitude was unabated, and it was evident that he must fall a prey to it. Indeed, it was not long before his situation became extremely unsatisfactory. I had left him tolerably well on the 10th, and the next day I found him very much altered.

11th.—I saw the Emperor at four o'clock in the morning. He complained of pains of colic, want of sleep, agitation, sensation of uneasiness. The symptoms begin to assume a serious character; they, however, yielded for the present to a bath and enemas.

12th.—The night had been more tranquil, but the Emperor complained of a kind of hemicrania. He took a foot-bath.

13th.—The Emperor had passed a good night, and the hemicrania was gone. Bath.—Walk. I accompanied the Emperor into the garden. He was weak; and having sat down, he looked around him to the right and to the left, and said, with a painful expression: "Ah, "Doctor! where is France and its cheerful cli- "mate? If I could but see it once more! If

"I could but breathe a little air that had "passed over that happy country! What "a specific is the soil that gave us birth! "Antæus renewed his strength by touching the "earth; and I feel that this prodigy would be "repeated in me, and that I should revive on "perceiving our coasts. Our coasts! Ah! I "had forgotten that cowardice has taken vic- "tory by surprise; its decisions are without "appeal.

"But do you know, Doctor, that you are a "terrible man? You have disturbed all the "notions I had acquired; you have upset all "the ideas I had formed: I am at a loss what "to make of your work. — 'The epidermis is "an organic mass; veins are only prolongations "of the arteries; they form a net, the threads "of which wind back upon themselves, and the "two extremities of which are mixed and con- "fused together. . . .' — You criticise without "mercy every thing that has been written "upon the subject. Your introduction to the "works of Mascagni is a revolution in ana- "tomy."—"I think so, Sire; for it rectifies many results improperly studied."—"And does "not contain any views too lightly adopted and "promulgated?"—"I believe not."—"What

" will the anatomists say on seeing old and ac-
" knowledged theories destroyed?"—" What
men say when they discover their error."—
" But your doctrine is totally different from
" that of our schools. Are there not clever
" anatomists in Paris?"—" Yes, Sire, many."
" Well! how, then, does it happen that you do
" not agree together on the subject?"—" You
cultivate science, Sire, and could answer that
question better than I can."—" Ah! you want
" me to give the answer myself; you are afraid
" the faculty may be listening to what we
" say?"—" No, Sire; but every man takes his
own view of a subject. One follows one thing,
another pursues another; and very often the
man who does not obtain any result, displays
more sagacity than the man who makes a dis-
covery."—" You fear that I may accuse you
" of presumption; such is not my intention:
" but you come from the Cape of Corsica; are
" you not marked with the stamp of your
" country?"—" How, Sire?"—" Oh! I know
" you well, *Capo-Corsini;* you are always dis-
" satisfied; you find nothing good but what
" you have done yourselves."—" We, Sire?"—
" Yes, you. I came into this world in the
" arms of old *Mammuccia Caterina;* so you

"may judge whether I have experience on the
"subject. She was stubborn and testy, and
"constantly quarrelling with all around her;
"and particularly with my grandmother, to
"whom she was, however, very much at-
"tached, and who also loved her very much
"in return. They were continually arguing
"and disputing; their discussions were inter-
"minable, and amused us exceedingly. You
"look serious, Doctor; the description hurts
"your feelings: but be consoled, for if your
"countrywoman was of a scolding disposition,
"she was also kind and affectionate; she
"walked out with us, amused us, and treated
"us with a degree of care and solicitude which
"I have never forgotten. I still recollect the
"tears she shed when I left Corsica, now upwards
"of forty years ago. You were not born then;
"and I was young, and did not foresee the
"glory that awaited me, and still less that we
"should one day meet here. But the decrees
"of fate are immutable, and every one must
"submit to his destiny. Mine was to run
"through the extremes of life, and I set out
"to accomplish the task allotted to me. My
"father was going to Versailles as deputy of
"the nobility of Corsica, and I accompanied

"him. We passed through Tuscany, where I "saw Florence and the Grand Duke, and ar- "rived at Paris. We were recommended to "the Queen: my father met with a most flat- "tering reception, and I entered Brienne. I "was happy; my ideas began to ferment; I "felt a want to learn, to know, to push myself "forward; and I devoured the contents of "every book I could procure. In a short time "I became the theme of universal conversation "at the school: I was admired and envied; I "felt a consciousness of my own powers, and "enjoyed my superiority. Not that there did "not already then exist some charitable souls "who endeavoured to embitter my satisfaction: "I had; on arriving at the school, been intro- "duced into a room, in which was a portrait of "the Duke of Choiseul; and the sight of that "odious man, who had sold my country, had "drawn from me an expression of hatred and "contempt. This was blasphemy—this was a "crime sufficient to efface my success; but I "allowed malevolence to vent itself, and ap- "plied to study with redoubled ardour and "application. I saw what men are, and made "my profit of the observation."

14th.—Napoleon a little better.—Bath.—Ex-

ercise. I followed the Emperor into the garden. "Did you frequently visit Corsica," said he, "whilst you resided in Italy?"—"Very seldom, Sire."—"You are at all events acquainted with "the history of Corsica? You know that I "have written one of that country?"—"Yes, Sire; I have heard that you have."—"I was "then eighteen years old, and full of fire: the "struggle was not yet over; and I was burning "with patriotism and liberty; republicanism "issued from every pore. I submitted the re- "sult of my labour to Raynal,* who approved "of it, praised me, and advised me to print "my work.—I listened to his praises, and dis- "regarded his advice; and I acted wisely; for "young as I then was, I must have followed "the beaten track—distorted events, supposed "intentions, and lost myself in erroneous "views. I was quite a novice, a stranger to "the arts of war and of administration, and "not yet initiated into the secret of affairs; "and I probably judged those who had directed "them with the same impertinence as I am "now judged.—Have you read . . . .' But you "only read books on physiology; you know

* Abbé Raynal, the historian.

" nothing about the rhapsodies which are every " day issued into the world."

The Emperor passed some works in review, and reverted again to Corsica, and the friends of his infancy.—" Do you know Barberi?"—" The son of the President of the Board of Health, who conducted the friends of Moltedo and Cittadella on board the *Muiron?*" —" Precisely. " I one day played him a trick which caused " his appetite to murmur sadly.—It was in the " year 1793: I had obtained leave of absence, " and had come to spend it at Ajaccio. I was " then only a captain, and foreseeing the war " was likely to be long and severe, I was pre- " paring myself accordingly. I had, therefore, " established my study in the quietest room in " the house—in one of the garrets; I received " nobody, seldom went out, and devoted my " whole time to study. One Sunday morning " as I was crossing the *Place du Môle* I met " Barberi, who reproached me with my se- " clusion and never being seen by my friends, " and proposed to me to take a walk. I con- " sented to accompany him, on condition that " we should make an aquatic excursion. He " beckoned to the sailors of a ship, of which he " was in part owner: they came, and we em-

" barked. My object was to measure the extent " of the gulf, and I directed them to proceed " towards the *Recanto.* I seated myself astern, " let out my ball of string, and obtained the re- " sult I wanted. When we got to the *Costa* we " climbed to its summit: the position was mag- " nificent; it is the same upon which the Eng- " lish afterwards placed a redoubt; it com- " manded Ajaccio, and I was desirous of study- " ing it. Barberi, who took very little interest " in that kind of researches, urged me to put " an end to mine. I endeavoured to engage " his attention, and to gain time; but hunger " closed his ears. If I spoke of the extent of " the gulf, he replied, that he had not yet " broken his fast; if I pointed out the steeple, " or such and such a house, which I could easily " strike with my bombs, 'Very well,' answered " he; 'but I have just taken exercise, and a " good breakfast is waiting for me: let us go.' " We started at last; but his friends had been " tired of waiting for him, and when he ar- " rived, repast and guests had all disappeared. " He resolved to be more circumspect in fu- " ture, and to take good care to observe an- " other time the hour at which he should go " out on a reconnoitring excursion."

15th.—I saw the Emperor at nine o'clock A.M. and found him in the same state.—Bath and exercise.

16th.—The Emperor was gloomy, and appeared uneasy. He questioned me respecting his sufferings, and the symptoms of his disorder. I perceived that something preyed upon his mind which he could not bring himself to express; and I thought I guessed what it was. I began a discussion about hereditary diseases. "You do not believe in them?"—"No, Sire." "The mal-organisation of a father does not influence the constitution of his children?"—"If such were the case, hump-backed parents would only produce hump-backed children; and the progeny of ricketty individuals would be ricketty in their turn: and yet we see every day the finest men spring from sources the most ill-favoured by nature."—"That doctrine is, however, admitted in all the schools."—"No, Sire: there exists none that does not now disown it."—"What! the schools in England also?"—"Also, Sire. Hunter, one of the greatest physicians England has produced, was the first to combat that theory; and all the schools have adopted his ideas on the subject."—"And yet the professional men who are here,

" endeavour to give currency to a contrary " opinion. Do they, perhaps, derive their " medical inspirations from Hudson?" — " I cannot pretend to say, Sire; but they cannot possibly believe in the transmission of diseases; the utmost they can do is to admit the transmission of a certain aptitude to contract them." —" Ah! but neither England nor myself have " any thing to do with their connexion." And he began to relate the details of the disorder of which his father had died.

" He was ill when he set off from Corsica, and " change of air had not done him any good. " He suffered, grew thin, and could not digest " what he ate; and finding no benefit to com- " pensate for absence, he became desirous of " seeing his family again. He started, and got " as far as Montpellier: but suddenly the com- " plaint took a serious turn; he was attacked " by constant vomiting, and nothing passed " through or remained on his stomach. He " consulted physicians, and gorged himself with " medicines, without deriving the least benefit " from either. At last he was advised to fol- " low a certain diet, and to eat juicy pears; " and he returned to Paris, where they are more " common, and of a better quality. He ate

"a great quantity of them, and took a great "deal of exercise, and got well again. He "was fresh and active, and his complexion was "that of a man likely to live two hundred "years. Unfortunately, however, the principle "of the disorder was not extirpated: this was "only a reprieve; the disease had only halted, "and it soon resumed its course with increased "violence. My father had not been many "months in Corsica before he found himself "worse than before. The faculty had once "saved his life, and he thought they might "save it again; he therefore took Joseph with "him, and set out for Montpellier; but his "hour was come; all medicines proved unavail-"ing, and he died. It was dying very young, "for he was only thirty-eight years old. His "complaint had appeared singular; he was "opened, and it was found that he had a "*scirrhosis in the pylorus*. You do not think "that kind of affection can be transmitted with "the principle of life?"—"No, Sire; diseases no more pass from father to son than inclinations and talents; the difference in which is not contested by any body." — "It is true "that my father and myself are very unlike "each other in many respects. He was fond

" of spirituous liquors—I cannot bear them:
" he loved good living—my stomach will not
" allow the slightest excess. The smallest piece
" of bread, or a drop of water, above the usual
" quantity, is immediately thrown up: and ob-
" serve the sagacity of Nature—she stops when
" the superabundant portion has been rejected.
" My father was, however, a man endowed with
" courage and penetration; he cultivated poe-
" try, was eloquent, and would have shone if
" he had lived.

" I was entirely ignorant of his situation and
" his sufferings, and was quietly pursuing my
" studies, whilst he was struggling against the
" violence of a painful agony. He asked for me,
" called for me, and in his delirium invoked
" the assistance of my great sword: but I was
" too far from him; he died, and I had not the
" consolation to close his eyes: this sad duty
" was reserved for Joseph, who acquitted him-
" self of it with all the zeal of an affectionate
" son. A circumstance connected with this
" melancholy event struck me very forcibly:—
" my father, who was far from being religiously
" inclined, and who had even composed some
" anti-religious poetry, no sooner saw the grave
" half-opened, than he became passionately fond

" of priests! He wished for them—called for " them; there were not priests enough in " Montpellier to satisfy him. A change so sud- " den, and which, however, occurs in the case " of every individual labouring under a serious " illness, can only be accounted for by the " disorder into which the disease throws the " human frame.—The organs become blunted, " their re-action ceases, the moral faculties are " shaken; the head is gone, and thence the " desire for confession, *oremuses*,* and all the " fine things, without which, it seems, we can- " not die. But see man in the plenitude of " his powers: see those columns ready to march " on the field of battle; the drum beats the " charge—they rush forward—the cannon roars " —they fall; and priests and confession are out " of the question."

17th.—Same state of health.—Same prescription.

The Emperor was pre-occupied and thoughtful, and I was endeavouring to divine the cause of his anxiety, when I saw my anatomical work half open before him. This circumstance was decisive. I had guessed rightly: Napoleon

* A term of the Catholic church, corresponding to our "Let us pray."

dreaded being attacked with the disease which had killed his father. He dared not avow his fears; and consulted books, to obtain from them that information which he would not ask of men. I would have given the world to dissipate those vain alarms; but I had learnt by experience not to promote confidential communications, and I avoided opening a discussion which would have wounded his feelings. He was silent; and having planned a botanical excursion, I was going to retire. "No," said he, "stay; I recollect what you said to me, and "have a few questions to ask you. You are "continually speaking of air, of the liver: "what action do those two bodies exercise one "upon the other? How is it that that action "which is mortal here on this rock is beneficial "elsewhere?"—"It is not known, Sire."—"How! it is not known what in an aëriform "fluid wounds such or such an organ?"—"No more than it is known what constitutes pestilence, what produces the difference between a pure and an impure air."—"Has no attempt "been made to isolate that fatal principle?"—"The attempt has been made, but in vain: it is too subtile; and escapes from every process science has hitherto been able to devise."

—"But the atmosphere that surrounds an "individual infected with the plague, cannot "offer the same elements of composition as "that of a healthy individual."—"I should think not; but I do not believe there are many chemists who would be tempted to analyse such an atmosphere."—"Why not? There is "the courage of the laboratory as well as that "of the field of battle; besides, what a differ- "ence in the results! Do you not think that "the glory of putting an end to this dreadful "scourge, or of having attempted to do so, "would counterbalance the danger of the ex- "periment?—But to return to our subject, "what are the functions of the liver, its action, "and structure?"—I explained them to him. "Very well," said he, when I had done; "your "method appears to me new and correct; you "simplify the human frame, which is really "complex enough not to want the super-addi- "tions of the physiologists: but whence does it "arise that your doctrines are so unlike what is "found in the works that exist on the subject? "Is, then, France behind-hand in that respect? "Paris less advanced than Florence?"—"Mas- cagni has given such an impulse to science, that he has left all those who cultivate it far behind

him: there are only a few men in France, in Germany....."—"In Germany! who are they, "pray? Is Doctor Frank one of them?"—I shared the general opinion respecting the skill of that celebrated practitioner, and therefore immediately replied that he was a very clever man. "Clever indeed! I had a proof of his "talents the last time I was at Vienna. A "slight eruption had broken out on the back "of my neck; it was a mere trifle, but my "suite were uneasy about it, and urged me "to see a physician whose merit was so much "extolled. I consented, and Frank was sent "for. He found that I was attacked with "a malignant scurfy affection—a serious com-"plaint. I was to undergo a preparatory "treatment, take medicines; in short, there "was no end to all I was to do. I sent for "Corvisart, and that circumstance was quite "enough to revive past hopes. I was ill, in "bed, mad: every one told his own story, "made his own conjecture; agitation already "began to manifest itself every where. The "physician, whose uneasiness was increased by "all that he heard and saw, made the utmost "haste, and did not stop until he got to "Schoenbrunn. He expected to find me dying,

"and his surprise was extreme when he was "told that I was passing a review. I came in, "and his arrival was announced to me. I "laughed at his astonishment. 'Well, Corvi- "sart, what news? what is said at Paris? Do "you know that they maintain here that I am "very ill? I have a slight eruption, and a slight "pain in my head, and Doctor Frank pretends "that I am labouring under a scurfy affection, "which requires a long and serious treatment; "what do you think about it?' I had taken "off my cravat: Corvisart examined my neck. "'Ah, Sire! to make me come from such a "distance to prescribe a blister, which the "last of physicians might have done as well as "myself. Frank is dreaming; you are perfectly "well: this eruption is merely the remains of "a former one that was not well cured, and will "not resist four days' blistering.' Corvisart "was right; it disappeared as he had said, "and never returned. 'You see, Sire,' said "he, as he was dressing the wound for the last "time, 'all the dreadful diseases which this "German had threatened you with, are reduced "to this.' He went to pay a visit to Frank, "thanked him, not very graciously, for the "rapid journey he had occasioned him, and

" set off again for Paris. His return calmed the " agitation that had prevailed; it shewed that " I was not yet near my end. There is a time " for every thing." The Emperor here changed the conversation, and passed in review the intrigues which disturbed Germany at that period. He spoke of Schill, of Dornberg, of the Queen of Prussia. The plan, he said, was vast and well conceived; but hesitation, hurry, and a want of unity, prevailed in its execution. Wagram occurred, and it became necessary to postpone the game to some future period. It was the first time I heard of these plots and intrigues, and I could neither understand their secret springs nor their *ensemble*. I therefore tried to turn the conversation, and mentioned the name of Muller. On hearing it, Napoleon expressed himself in the kindest terms respecting that celebrated man, and expatiated on his talents. He was short, thin, ill-favoured, and mean-looking: but this wretched exterior, and the ugliest features imaginable, concealed the most comprehensive mind ever possessed by man. He was introduced to the Emperor after the battle of Jena; and being supposed to be the author of the manifesto, Napoleon addressed to him some jocular observations on the

subject. "I, Sire!" said Muller, "the author of the manifesto against you! Your Majesty must have a very poor opinion of me!"—"I "spent a few hours in conversation with him," added Napoleon; "his views were profound "and his ideas vast and elevated. I put him "at the head of the foreign affairs of West-"phalia; but Jerome, who had placed his con-"fidence elsewhere, superseded him, and gave "him a situation for which he was quite unfit." From Muller Napoleon proceeded to Goethe and Wieland, and passed the highest encomium upon those two celebrated characters. I reminded him of the conversation he had had with the last mentioned. "You have heard of "it?"—"Yes, Sire; it has been circulated every where throughout Germany, and I took a copy of it at Frankfort." The Emperor expressed a wish to see it, and I delivered it to him. It was as follows:—

"I had not been many minutes in the drawing-room, (it is Wieland who speaks), when Napoleon crossed it to come towards us. The Duchess of Weimar introduced me to him with the usual ceremonies. He addressed himself to me in the most affable manner, uttering some flattering expressions in my praise, and

looking steadfastly at me at the same time. Few men have appeared to me to possess, in the degree he does, the faculty of reading the thoughts of another at the first glance. He immediately guessed that, notwithstanding my fame, I was simple and unaffected; and as he seemed desirous of producing a favourable impression upon my mind, he had assumed the tone the best calculated to attain that end. I have never seen a man apparently more calm, or milder, or who displayed less pretensions. Nothing in him betrayed the sentiment of consciousness of his power as a great monarch. He spoke to me as an old acquaintance would speak to his equal; and what was most extraordinary for him, he conversed exclusively with me an hour and a half, to the great surprise of all present. At last, it being nearly twelve o'clock, I began to feel that it was not proper to occupy so much of his time, and I took the liberty of asking his Majesty's permission to withdraw. 'Well, go!' said he, in the most friendly tone, 'good night!'

"The following are the most remarkable parts of our conversation. The tragedy that had just been represented having led us to speak of Julius Cæsar, Napoleon said, that he was one of

the greatest men named in history, and that he would have been the greatest of all, but for the fault he committed. I was going to ask him to what fault he alluded, when, appearing to read in my eyes the question I was about to put, he added: 'Cæsar knew the men that were plotting to get rid of him; he, therefore, ought to have got rid of them.' If Napoleon had been able to see what was then passing in my mind, he would have read that *he* would never be accused of committing such a fault."

The Emperor paused awhile, pronounced a few words, and continued to read. "From Cæsar the conversation turned upon the Romans, and Napoleon warmly eulogised their political and military system. The Greeks, on the contrary, did not appear to rank high in his estimation. 'The eternal quarrels of their petty republics,' said he, 'were not calculated to produce any thing great; whilst the Romans, on the contrary, always aimed at great things, and thus raised that colossus which traversed the world.' I pleaded in favour of the fine arts and literature of the Greeks; but he treated them with contempt, and said that they only served in their hands to fo-

ment dissensions. He preferred Ossian to Homer; he only relished poetry of a sublime cast, writers possessing energy and pathos, and, above all, tragic poets. He spoke of Ariosto in the same terms as the Cardinal Hyppolite D'Este, not perceiving that he thereby paid me a very ungracious compliment. He seemed to have no taste for lively and humorous compositions; and, in spite of the flattering affability of his manners, the thought occurred to me more than once, that he appeared to be made of bronze.

"Napoleon had so completely divested me of all feeling of restraint, that I asked him how it had happened that public worship, which he had restored in France, had not become more philosophical, and more in harmony with the spirit of the times? 'My dear Wieland,' answered he, 'religion is not made for philosophers; they neither believe in me, nor in my priests: and as for those who do believe, it is impossible to give them, or to leave them, too much of the marvellous. If I were to make a religion for philosophers, it would be quite the reverse of that professed by the credulous.'"——"That is just like them," said Napoleon, as he gave me back the document; "blaming, discoursing, pronouncing with that

" laughable assurance which characterises these " men of theory. I received the priests, be- " cause it was necessary, to render the Revolu- " tion popular, to consecrate the republic, and " make them preach up those very dogmas re- " specting which they had alarmed the peo- " ple's conscience. They had been foolishly " excluded from the nation, and thus reduced " to oppose doctrines which they had at first " adopted. I reconciled them with those doc- " trines, and they desired no better. I knew, " besides, by experience, what a powerful lever " they hold in their hands. It was in vain that " I conquered in Italy, and dispersed the armies " opposed to me; the least reverse sufficed to " render problematical, once more, what the " fate of arms had decided. The Austrians " would then come forward, and the Pope join " them; the former supplying troops, the latter " fanaticism, and their soldiers, predictions, " and miracles, produced an effect which stag- " gered even our own partisans. I was " much struck with the impression made " upon the Bolognese, by the withholding of " some benedictions which were lavished on " the inhabitants of Lugo; and I began to treat " with the Pope. The Directory did not relish " this negociation; they wished to upset the

" *idol*, and attack Naples, Genoa, and Venice,
" and municipalize Europe. I refused to lend
" myself to these extravagant plans, and did not
" conceal it. ' The *prestige* of our power is va-
" nishing, the enemy now reckons our numbers,'
" said I to the President: ' it is indispensably
" necessary that you should take into consi-
" deration the situation of the army, and should
" adopt a system calculated to insure you
" friends, as well amongst the princes as
" amongst the people. Diminish the number
" of your enemies. The influence of Rome is
" incalculable: it was wrong to break with
" that power; she derives advantages from our
" rupture. Had I been consulted, I should
" have delayed the negociation as I have de-
" layed that of Genoa and Venice. Each thing
" has its turn. In the mean time send me
" troops, if you wish, I do not say to upset
" thrones, but to preserve Italy.'—All that
" was, however, so ill conducted, that it was
" enough to excite compassion. Since it had
" been resolved not to conclude with Rome, it
" was necessary, at least, to wait until she had
" fulfilled the conditions of the armistice; we
" should then have had the five millions which
" the Pope was paying, to balance the amount
" of the contributions I had imposed upon him,

" and a part of which was already at Rimini. " Instead of obliging him to decide upon every " article of the treaty, and allowing time for " the arrival at Bologna of a corps of troops, " the strength of which would have been mag- " nified by report, the whole treaty was shewn " to him at once, and at the moment the army " was engaged in the passes of the Tyrol. " This ill-advised measure very nearly cost us " ten millions in supplies, and the *chefs-d'œuvre* " of Italy, which a delay of a few days would " have secured to us. But I repaired these " errors; I drove back the Austrians; Maury " calmed the preachers whom he had excited, " and we escaped from the seditions prepared " against us." The Emperor spoke at length about the system of conciliation which he had adopted from that moment, and of the repugnance and the obstacles opposed to him by his friends, his relations, and even his aides-de-camp. The following letter will give some idea of the aversion with which he was surrounded, and of all the fears and forebodings over which he had to triumph.

" Your letter, my dear Lannes, has refreshed my blood, and never, I confess, did I stand so much in need of consolation. I cannot contemplate without terror that host of emigrants

thirsting after vengeance, who surround the Government, and seize upon the patrimony of the Republicans. Let Bonaparte not deceive himself: these men who have at first considered their return as a favour, will soon look upon it as an act of necessity; their pretensions will rise in proportion as they gain influence, and they will in the end renew their plots and machinations, if, indeed, those plots have ever been interrupted. A frightful alternative, then, presents itself,—either the Government will adopt violent measures, which will tend to render it odious, or it will be overthrown. The only way to escape from such a fate, to save France, and to gain immortal fame, is, as I have told Bonaparte a hundred times, to call around him men who have sincerely the interest of their country at heart. What can he expect from those political cameleons, who, under every new circumstance, have assumed a new mask; who are as contemptible by the mutability of their opinions, as by the baseness of their character; who have been the flatterers of power in whatever hands it was placed; who have shared in all the crimes, fomented all the excesses, and aggravated all the misfortunes, of the Revolution? Republicans are the only men he can unalterably

attach to himself, and it is easy to see why: the Royalists will ever regret their distinctions, their privileges, their riches; places and influence will never console them for the absence of their idol, and they will only accept them in order to be enabled to rebuild its altars. The Republicans, on the contrary, no longer consider that they possess the right to exact any thing; and they will be grateful for the good done to them, and even for the evil which will not be inflicted upon them. Let no fears be entertained with respect to old demagogue dreams; they have vanished. Let talents, probity, and even fortune, be required of men holding public situations; I can see no objection to it: but let nothing be exclusive; for, notwithstanding the fine arguments of our metaphysicians, the first merit of a man towards a Government is devotedness to it.

"The fate of our country, my dear Lannes, now depends upon the stability of the order established; but the truth of this proposition, which for us bears the character of evidence, is not yet generally felt. Every letter I receive from the interior informs me that there exist seeds of discontent, and that mistrust and anxiety prevail to a considerable extent. The

army also does not view quietly certain appointments. The name of Bonaparte alone still maintains confidence; but let him answer this question: If the First Consul were not present to restrain the excesses of passions, what would become of the State? And who can warrant the duration of his existence? It is therefore necessary to raise up a rampart independent of that existence, and sufficiently strong to oppose disorders, the bare idea of which makes one shudder; and such a rampart will be raised when public situations shall be filled by staunch patriots. Never cease, my dear friend, to repeat these truths; and, since his ear is still accessible to the accents of candour, use the influence your integrity and your friendship for him give you, to induce him to beware of those perfidious beings who only flatter him to kill him. Bonaparte is the man of our country: our fate is closely linked with his; we must undeceive him and save him. Yours,

"O."

18th. Found the Emperor's health in the same state.—Ordered the same remedies.

Napoleon was now quite well again. He was active and in good spirits, congratulating

himself upon having escaped from medicines. Patience, he said, was at least as efficacious as pills; and I had some reason to be convinced of its virtue. I was going to reply, but he had hardly said the last words, before he was in the next room. I followed him, and we went into the garden, where the conversation turned exclusively upon Corsica, the years of his childhood, and his relations. His entrance into this world had been as sudden and unexpected, as his elevation and his subsequent misfortunes. His mother, though near her term, had shared the fatigues of the war for liberty; the celebration of the festival of the Assumption occurred, and she thought her strength still sufficient to allow her to be present at the solemnization of the day: she was, however, mistaken; for before she could reach the church the pains of labour came on. "She "then hastily turned back, got as far as her "drawing-room, where she deposited me on an "old carpet. I was called Napoleon—the name "which for centuries past was given to the "second sons of our family, in order to per-"petuate the remembrance of our connection "with a certain *Napoleon des Ursins*, celebrated "in the records of Italy." In recapitulating the

events that had preceded his birth, he admired the courage and strength of mind his mother had then displayed, and with which she had borne losses and privations of every kind, and braved fatigue and danger. "She had the head "of a man upon the body of a woman. Such "was not the case with the Archdeacon; he "regretted his goats, the Genoese, and every "thing that was gone. He was, however, a "most worthy man; good, generous, and en- "lightened: he acted the part of a father "towards us, and retrieved the affairs of our "house. Sound in mind, though bed-ridden "by infirmities, he suffered no abuse to escape "his vigilance. He knew the strength and the "number of our cattle, ordered such animal to "be killed, such other to be sold or kept, as- "signed to each herdsman his lot, and gave "each his particular instructions. Our mills, "our cellars, our vineyards, were kept under "the same strict regulations; order and abun- "dance reigned every where, and our situation "had never been more prosperous. The old "gentleman was rich, but did not like to part "with his cash, and was particularly bent upon "persuading us that he did not economize. "When I asked him for money, he would

" answer, 'You know very well that I have
" none, and that the expeditions of your father
" have not left me any thing.' At the same
" time he authorized me to sell a head of cattle,
" or a pipe of wine, and that answered the same
" purpose. We had, however, seen a certain
" bag, and we were vexed to hear him plead
" poverty with gold pieces in his bed; we
" therefore resolved to play him a trick. Pau-
" line was then quite a child: we gave her our
" instructions. She pulled out the bag, and the
" doubloons rolled about and covered the floor.
" We laughed heartily, whilst the old gentle-
" man was half choked with rage and con-
" fusion. Mamma came, scolded us, and picked
" up the money, which the Archdeacon as-
" sured us did not belong to him. We had our
" own opinions upon that subject, but took
" care not to contradict him. Shortly after this
" he was taken ill, and was soon at the point of
" death. We were all standing round his bed,
" and deploring the loss we were about to
" sustain, when Fesch, suddenly fired with a
" holy zeal, offered to read him the usual
" homilies. The dying man interrupted him, but
" Fesch took no notice of it, and continued his
" pious occupation. At last the Archdeacon lost

" all patience; 'Leave me alone!' said he; 'I " have only a few minutes to live, which I wish " to devote to my family.' He then bade us " approach his bed, and gave us some advice " and instructions. 'You are the eldest of the " family,' said he to Joseph, 'but the head of it " is Napoleon; recollect that!' and he expired, " amidst the tears and lamentations which this " melancholy spectacle drew from us.

" Left without a guide or protector, my " mother was obliged to take upon herself the " direction of affairs; and the burthen was not " too much for her strength. She conducted " and administered every thing with a degree " of wisdom and sagacity not to be expected " from her sex and age. Ah, Doctor! what a " woman! where shall we find her equal?"

I was listening, and admiring the Emperor's recital, and waiting until he should think of himself again and speak to me about his health. This soon occurred. He had not taken any exercise for such a length of time that he was quite tired, and felt surprised at his lassitude, which was a natural consequence of the life he had been leading. " What am I to do, " Doctor?"—" Take exercise."—" Where?"— " In the gardens—in the fields—in the open

air."—"What! in the midst of the red-coats?"—"No, Sire."—"How then?"—"You must dig the ground, turn up the earth, and thus escape from inactivity and insult at the same time."—"Dig the ground! yes, Doctor, you are right, I will dig the ground." We returned in-doors, the Emperor made his arrangements, and the next morning he was already at work. He named Noveraz, who had been accustomed to rural occupations, head-gardener, and worked under his directions. His first attempts were successful; and, desirous that I should witness his dexterity, he sent for me. "Well, Doctor," said he, as I approached, "are you satisfied with your patient? is he obedient enough?" In saying this, he held up his spade, laughed, looked at me, shook his head, glancing his eye at what he had done. "This is better than your pills, *Dottoraccio*; you shall not physic me any more." He set to work again, but left off after a few minutes. "This occupation is too laborious; I am exhausted. My hands conspire with my weakness, they pain me; the remainder another time." And he threw down the spade. "You are laughing," said he; "I see the cause of your merriment; you pity my fair hands. Never mind,

"I have always accustomed my body to bend "to my will, and I shall bring it to do so "now, and inure it to this exercise." He did so, and soon grew fond of it. He carried away the mould, caused it to be conveyed from one spot to another, and pressed all Longwood into his service. The ladies, alone, escaped from their share of the labour, though not without great difficulty, and reluctance on the part of the Emperor to refrain from setting them to work. He laughed at them, pressed them, entreated them, and used every art of persuasion, particularly with Madame Bertrand. He assured her that the exercise of gardening was more beneficial to health than the medicines I was continually prescribing; that, moreover, it formed part of my prescriptions—that I had ordered it.

The Emperor urged us, excited us, and every thing around us soon assumed a different aspect. Here was an excavation, there a basin or a road. We made alleys, grottoes, cascades: the appearance of the ground had now some life and diversity. We planted willows, oaks, peach-trees, to give a little shade round the house.—Having completed the ornamental part of our labours, we turned to the useful. We

divided the ground, we manured it, and sowed it with abundance of beans, peas, and every vegetable that grows in the island. The Governor heard of our plantations, &c., and looked upon them with a suspicious eye:- this great movement was certainly intended to mask some conspiracy, some plot. He hastened to the spot. I was taking my usual walk; he saw me, quickened his pace, and came up to me. "Is it by your advice that General Bonaparte takes this violent exercise?" I assented, and he, shrugged up his shoulders, protesting that he could not conceive what we were about. "You harass yourselves in transplanting trees in a soil without humidity, and exposed to a burning sun; it is labour lost, they will die—not one will grow up." I thanked his Excellency for his kind solicitude, and assured him that he entertained too unfavourable an opinion of the country under his command; that our young shoots were doing very well, and that many were already budding. Sir Hudson shook his head and withdrew. I informed the Emperor of my having met the Governor, and of our conversation. "The "wretch," said he, "envies me every minute "that he does not embitter. He wishes my

" death; he calls for that moment; it comes too " slowly to satisfy his impatience. But let him " be comforted; this horrible climate is charged " with the execution of the crime, and it will " fulfil its trust sooner than he expects."

The activity of our labours was such, that we should soon, at the rate we were going on, have dug the island all over,—and we had but a small fraction of it. Napoleon, perceiving that we should come too soon to the end of our task, slackened our exertions, and I remained alone with him to finish the sowing. I broke the furrows, he threw the seed and covered it over, arguing at the same time, or relating some anecdote, and only stopping now and then for a joke. One day, as he was arranging a bed of French beans, he perceived some small roots, and began a dissertation upon the phenomena of vegetation. He analysed them, and descanted upon them with his usual sagacity, drawing from them the conclusion of the existence of a Superior Being who presides over the wonders of Nature. " You do not believe " in all that, Doctor; you physicians are above " those weaknesses. Tell me, you who are " so well acquainted with the human frame, " who have searched it in all its turnings and

"windings, have you ever met with the soul "under your scalpel? Where does the soul "reside? in what organ?" I hesitated to answer. "Come, be sincere; there is not a phy- "sician that believes in God, is there?"—"No, Sire, they are seduced by the example; they imitate mathematicians."—"How so? Mathe- "maticians are in general religious . . . . How- "ever, your recrimination reminds me of a sin- "gular expression used by one of them. I was "conversing with L——; and, congratulating "him upon a new work he had just published, "I asked him how it happened that the name "of God, so often used in the works of La- "grange, had never once occurred in his. 'It "is,' answered he, 'because I have not found it "necessary to have recourse to that hypo- "thesis.'" I employed anecdote in my turn, and quoted Lalande and a few others; but he still persevered in his opinion: we were, generally speaking, Atheists; and moreover, as deficient in courage as in faith, we were frightened out of our wits as soon as the cannon began to roar; the sight of a field of battle disconcerted the most skilful of us, and it was only by dint of time and habit that we acquired the confidence necessary to enable us to

perform our operations. He had often thought how to obviate this disorder; and he had wished that no medical man might be allowed to practise, or to solicit patronage or protection, until he had served in one or two campaigns. Had he known me, he would have obliged me also to pass first through that ordeal. This discussion led him to speak of some of his expeditions; and he rendered ample justice to the services of the officers of the military surgical department, praised their zeal, their activity, and extolled the firmness and perseverance of which they had given proofs on several occasions, under circumstances of great difficulty. He had, it is true, always watched over and encouraged that department, and had even in some cases himself taken care to see the prescriptions duly followed. A fever committed great ravages amongst the troops that were besieging Mantua, and the exhausted soldiers sinking under the disease, refused the assistance of the medical men. The general hastened to the spot, threw bark into the casks of wine, and distributed this infusion with his own hand to the different corps as they defiled before him. The care and anxiety of their general revived the courage of the soldiers—they

submitted to the use of the medicine, and found themselves better. Still, it was only when this kind of contagion had entirely disappeared, that he ceased to watch in person over the health of the troops. In Egypt he had done more: every means calculated to prevent the occurrence of disease, or to limit its duration, had been inquired into, settled, and regulated by himself. Baths, cleanliness, and other measures conducive to health, were the constant subjects of his orders of the day. He had even determined the posts of Boulac, and the limits beyond which the convalescents were not to pass. "The gardens are spacious enough; there let "them walk without going out of them, lest a "popular commotion or a reverse should expose "them to the dagger of the Turks." In Syria, the sick and the wounded were the unceasing objects of his solicitude. He caused hospitals to be established at Jaffa, Ramleh, Scheffamer; and nothing could equal his grief when he heard that a wretch had employed, on a private speculation, the camels appointed for the transport of medicines. He was going to have the guilty individual tried and shot; in short, there was no punishment sufficiently severe for so infamous an action: but the corps to which he

belonged would have been disgraced, without any relief being afforded to the brave wounded; and he therefore spared the wretch's life, and dismissed him from the service. "St. Jean d'Acre received reinforcements; we sustained losses, and were obliged to raise the siege of the place. The first thing to be done under these circumstances was to remove the wounded: on this occasion the anxiety of the General was particularly conspicuous."—But I am not relating what I have heard, I am quoting what I have read, and shall not stoop to discuss a base calumny.

"Camp before Acre, 22d Floreal, VIIth Year of the Republic, (11th May, 1799.)

"TO REAR-ADMIRAL PERREE.

"Rear-admiral Gantheaume will give you directions how to carry away four or five hundred wounded, whom I send to Tentoura, and whom it is absolutely necessary that you should transport to Alexandria and Damietta. Your zeal, your intelligence, and your nautical skill, will overcome every obstacle; and you and your crews will acquire more glory by this action than from the most brilliant engagement. No cruise will ever have been so useful as yours,

and no frigates will have ever rendered a more essential service to the republic than those under your command."

"Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)

"TO GENERAL DUGUA.

"You must have received the battalion of the 4th regiment of light infantry, which I despatched a fortnight ago, and which must have reached Cairo by this time.

"In three days I shall march to Cairo with the whole army; I am only delayed by the transport of the wounded, of whom I have six or seven hundred.

"I have carried the principal points within the outer enclosure of Acre, but we have not thought proper to persist in attacking the second inclosure, because it would have occasioned a loss of too much time and too many men.

"Djezzar received, two days ago, a reinforcement of five or six hundred men, and thirty large Greek vessels. This expedition was destined for Alexandria.

"Perree has taken two of those vessels, in which were gunners, bombardiers, miners, and several pieces of cannon.

"Adopt measures to render the navigation of Damietta secure, in order that the wounded may pass rapidly into the hospitals of Cairo."

"Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)

"TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL ALMEYRAS.

"I am going to send as many wounded as I possibly can to Damietta: if the communications are open, pass them on immediately to Cairo, where they will find more comforts. The number will be about four or five hundred.

"It will be necessary to have at Oum-Furedge a certain number of boats ready for the sick or wounded that may be with us."

"Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)

"TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL BOYER.

"Send the wounded to Jaffa, or on board the frigates: the adjutant-general Leturcq, who is at Caïffa, will send you to-morrow a large convoy of them.

"Make arrangements that on the morning of the 13th there be neither sick nor wounded at Tentoura. Two hundred wounded will be

sent to-morrow to Tentoura, coming from Mount Carmel; pass them on to Jaffa immediately.

"Embark as much of the artillery, that has been sent to you at Jaffa, as you possibly can without inconveniencing the sick.

"Let me have to-morrow night an exact statement of the prisoners sent away, and of those remaining.

"Let the wounded be informed that the enemy has attempted a sortie, and has lost four hundred men, and had nine flags taken from him."

"Camp before Acre, 27th Floreal, VIIth Year of the Republic, (16th May, 1799.)

"TO ADJUTANT-GENERAL LETURCQ.

"To-morrow morning march four hundred wounded upon Tentoura. Adjutant-general Boyer informs me that he has this day sent four hundred by land, and one hundred and fifty by sea. You inform me that you only sent one hundred to-day; it is therefore possible that the frigates might come in, and there be no wounded yet arrived for them to take—which would be unfortunate; therefore lose not a moment.

"Let me have to-morrow, at twelve o'clock, a statement of the wounded at Caïffa and Mount Carmel. The sick must also be sent off, but separately.

"On the evening of the 29th not a single sick or wounded must remain at Caïffa."

"TO GEN. BERTHIER, CHIEF OF THE STAFF.

"Please to give immediate orders for the establishment of two hospitals in the village of Scheffamer; one for the wounded, the other for the sick with fever.

"These two hospitals shall be established in the castle. To-morrow, at twelve o'clock, all the sick and wounded now in the moveable hospitals and in the camp hospital, and all the sick in the camp itself, will be sent to those hospitals.

"A pharmacy will be established. A commissary, the head of the medical and that of the surgical department, and the director of hospitals, will immediately repair to the village of Scheffamer, in order to organize the said hospitals.

"The captain of the dromedaries to be appointed commandant of the village. Its garrison will be composed of the third battalion of the

18th, with the exception of the company of grenadiers.

"TO THE COMMISSARY-IN-CHIEF DAURE.

"I have just visited the hospital, and I find that boilers and vessels for washing the wounds are wanting.

"The wounded only require barley and honey, to make water-gruel, and there is none. These unfortunate beings, who possess so many claims on our compassion, are suffering, whilst barley and honey are every day sold in the camp.

"I desire that you will, as speedily as possible, purchase barley, honey, and utensils, which are easily procured in the mountains.

"Lint and linen will also soon be wanting; order precautionary measures to be taken on that head."

I shall quote another document: the date on, the place in, and the circumstances under which it was written, render it one of great value. At this distance, painful recollections are not cherished—still less revived. I allude to the instructions given to the Duke of Treviso, when Napoleon evacuated Moscow. I have extracted them

from the Memoirs of one of his aides-de-camp,* who, having made the campaign of Egypt, must have been fully acquainted with the particularities of the anecdote to which allusion is made by the Emperor in those instructions.

We passed our time in gardening and conversing: natural history, medicine, war, politics, every thing that fell under the observation, or occurred to the memory of the Emperor, became in turn the subject of our discussions. But if the conversation suggested any circumstance that recalled to his mind either the Empress or his son, he immediately abandoned every other subject, to talk exclusively of the amiable qualities of the one, and the destiny of the other. 'What a forlorn state! What misfortunes!' But he had his father's name, and he would possess his father's courage; he would not suffer that inheritance to depart from him: and passing abruptly to Maria Louisa, as if he feared to contemplate the future prospects of the child, he expatiated in the highest terms on her goodness, her sweetness of disposition, and the unalterable affection she bore him. He

* General Count Rapp.—See the document in question at page 222 to 225 of his Memoirs.

fully repaid that affection; and he, perhaps, owed his ruin to it. Had he loved her less, he should not have written the fatal letter which fell into the hands of the Allies. He would probably have been followed, and victorious; and France would have been saved. Fate decided otherwise: he abdicated, and the Empress was obliged to retire to Vienna. "The repeated shocks she had been exposed to produced their effect, the health of that princess became deranged, and the physicians advised her to drink the waters of Aix, whither she accordingly went. F———, who was also there for the same purpose, immediately took the alarm. Maria Louisa was accompanied by Madame de Brignolles, Corvisart, and Isabey; and Talma had also made his appearance. It was clear, therefore, that a conspiracy existed, and that the throne was in danger; and no time ought to be lost in resorting to every means calculated to defeat the plot. He wrote, begged, denounced, and stimulated the exertions of both civil and military authorities. To the former he applied for their spies; to the latter to their *gendarmes:* every step of the Empress was to him a subject of terror. She, however, lived in the simplest manner possible; walking, mixing with

the crowd, and only busying herself about the fine sites and prospects the country offered, climbing the mountains to obtain a sight of them, with the activity natural to her; but she listened to the recital of lines recalling our exploits; she cherished the name of her husband, she adored her son: all that was quite enough to prevent F——— and the Duke of C——— from closing their eyes. Another circumstance tended to increase their fears. She had received some of our soldiers under her protection, and collected in that manner about twelve or fifteen hundred men: she was going to conquer France. Lacronier endeavoured to avert this dire misfortune: he had some troops and an orderly officer, and he attempted to close the passage of St. Jeoire against the Austrian couriers; but Neiperg, incensed at the affront, threatened: the *gendarmes* dared not proceed to further extremities, and poor F——— remained a prey to his anxiety. That anxiety was sufficiently ridiculous: men, circumstances, events, every thing gave him umbrage; and he was quite in despair, on observing that the heart of Maria Louisa continued devoted to the interest of Napoleon. But the measure of his anguish was filled, when he saw that the departure of

the Empress, which had been fixed for the first of September, did not take place. This unexpected delay nearly turned his brain; he could think of nothing but disasters, flight, and insurrections. It was evident this departure had been retarded by instructions from the island of Elba; not the shadow of a doubt could be entertained on that subject. Poor A———, beset on all sides by these fears, yielded at last to a sentiment he himself had never known. True it is, that he was also guided by some motives of his own, and that he had grown old. This circumstance, however, had the effect of restoring to him the activity of his youth; spies, despatches—he found time to attend to every thing. He sent to reconnoitre Italy, and sought to rally the nation round its sovereign —and what is more, its *legitimate* sovereign! "Do you know to what measure he thought of "having recourse in order to obtain this great "result?—to a coronation. On the same "day, and at the same hour, troops, public "functionaries, the whole population of France, "were to repair to their temples, there to pro- "claim, what?—their gratitude! Assuredly "there were ample reasons for feeling the most "lively gratitude! but was it for the hero of

" —— to come forward as the capuchin of that " party? Ought a man to be thus false to his " own glory? ought he, on the verge of existence, " to tarnish his own fame? But time wears out " every thing—even personal dignity."

Whilst the Emperor was speaking thus he perceived Reade. " As to that man," said he, " he is beyond the reach of time; I defy it to " make him baser than he is: he is like the " steel that blunts the edge of the file; he was " worthy of being yoked with our Calabrian."— " You flatter him, Sire; for his productions are very indifferent, whereas Sir Hudson's poetry is delightful."—" What! is this spy a poet?"— " Yes, Sire; he writes Latin verse with the same elegance as French. He is the Tyrtæus of the *Col-di-Tende!*—judge. You had baffled British sagacity, taken Malta and Alexandria, and threatened the establishments of England on the Red Sea: she was trembling for her trade; and was arming at Bombay, at Gibraltar, at Calcutta, and Admiral Blanckett had sailed to go and excite the Arabs to revolt. All these precautions were, however, insufficient to calm the apprehensions of England: she felt that to arrest your progress it was necessary to fire the whole world, and she went about Europe

begging for war; but finding that your name chilled every courage, she imagined to spread a report of your death. Lowe put the news into verse, and had it stuck up in Italy. The *morceau* ran thus:

> " ' Bonaparte a été pris à Alexandrie ;
> Il a perdu sa funeste vie.
> François, tremblez !
> Vous serez guillotinés.' "

" For guillotined, read * * * * * * * * ; " every one must speak his own language: but " is that all?"—" No, Sire; and here is something better:

> " ' Anglorum rursus virtutem sentit; fur, cave !
> Jam enim furum dux Bonapars cecidit !' "

" So much for his poetry! but what do you " know about his exploits?" — " Very little, Sire; affairs of that kind were out of the circle of my pursuits, and I did not listen to them with any great degree of attention; however, as I was very much in the world at Florence, and as my profession gave me access to every family, I could not but collect numberless valuable details. One spoke of the intention of the King of Sardinia to exasperate the French, in order

to obtain the crown of martyrdom; another exposed the plans of the ministers of his government, and the hopes they built upon the *franc-chasseurs*. The army commanded by Brune had been on the point of being completely destroyed. Every prince was to feign the existence of insurrections in his dominions, to stimulate alarms, and apply for assistance; and when our forces would have been scattered by these means, Austria was to march, the people to fly to arms, and our army, to the last man, was to be sacrificed. Arms, ammunition, and men, had been procured: every thing was arranged, when a lady of the court felt some scruples which she confided to her confessor; the confessor betrayed ministers, put Brune on his guard, and the plot failed. I learnt in the same way the intrigues which had for such a length of time disturbed Liguria, agitated the Cisalpine States, and fired Bologna. The object of Beccalozzi was, to be bought by the aristocracy; Lahoz had his own views; Feneroli cherished his own chimera: every one intrigued, and entertained the most culpable hopes. Sommariva carried on a secret correspondence in Lucca; Porro excited the disaffected of Genoa; Zorli those of Oneglia: at the moment

when a man thought himself secure of his existence, new wars sprang up, and conquests were meditated. The presence of our troops checked the views of the ambitious, and they, therefore, disposed their measures in consequence; they threw difficulties in the way of the service, excited the population, encouraged every excess; nothing was seen or heard of but insurrections, assassinations and disasters, and we were repulsed to the Col-di-Tende. Our enemies, seeing that we had experienced reverses, thought it advisable to endeavour to stir up the South to revolt and murder. England dispatched Lowe for that purpose: he crept like a malefactor on the mountains occupied by our troops, organized a few obscure plots, and hastily fled when he heard of your victories."

3d Dec. 17th.—The Emperor had now enjoyed upwards of a month of uninterrupted health. His strength had returned; the digestive organs had resumed their functions; every thing seemed to wear a favourable aspect, when suddenly the disorder again manifested itself, and with increased violence. Acute pains of cholic —almost intolerable pain in the liver—every symptom of an inflammation in the bowels.—

Ordered bathing, simple and emollient enemas, fomentations of the same nature on the abdomen, and castor-oil.

18th.—The pains in the bowels were to-day less violent, without, however, ceasing altogether, or allowing the patient to repose a single instant. A dry and painful cough came on at daybreak; but the use of anodynes diminished its intensity.—Bath.

19th.—The latter part of the day, yesterday, the Emperor was tolerably calm. The pains in the bowels recommenced again in the night, but with less force and frequency; the pain in the liver had entirely disappeared.

20th.—The Emperor better to-day. He had some sleep, and took a bath in the evening.

21st.—Napoleon much better than yesterday. He took a little walk, came in, and had a bath.

I had been out rambling, agreeably to my custom; and had strayed a few minutes in the park; and as I came into the house, the Emperor had just come out of his bath. "I "thought," said he, "that you were engaged, "entertaining a party of the English physi- "cians: have they not been exact to the ap-

"pointed time?"—"No, Sire: they had each separately appeared flattered by the invitation, and accepted it with pleasure; but suddenly altering their mind, they have since sent an excuse. I know not whether the hand that kept them back be not the same that has just caused me to be arrested."—"Arrested!"—"Yes, Sire. I was quietly returning to my hut, when the sentry refused to allow me to pass, and I have been taken to the guard-house. It is that which has made me late." The Emperor dropped the conversation; I did not dwell upon it, and retired. But these vexations assumed a character of personality; I was again arrested and insulted a few days afterwards. Napoleon would no longer allow me to endure this treatment. "Write to the "Calabrian," said he; "let him know the con- "tempt that his base malice inspires you with; "tell him that you will leave St. Helena, if he "persists in this line of conduct. I shall not "suffer you to be denied the liberty of breath- "ing the open air—to be exposed to die under "my eyes." I was highly incensed, and had soon written the following letter:—

" Longwood, 22d December, 1819.

" EXCELLENCY,

" I hope you will excuse me if my importunity interrupts your occupations, to call your attention to some circumstances that affect me personally. Last night, about seven o'clock, as I was returning from a walk in the park, I was stopped by the sentry placed near the garden-gate; and having been, during half an hour, prevented from going to my dwelling, which was not two hundred yards distant from the spot where I was thus detained, I only at last recovered my liberty by the interference of the sergeant of the guard of Longwood, the orderly captain being then absent. In the evening of the 19th instant, as I also returned from my usual walk, I had already been stopped in a similar manner by a sentry placed on the same spot; but who, much less rigorous than his comrade of yesterday evening, suffered me to repair to my habitation after a detention of a few minutes only! Thus, during the short space of three months that I have resided in the island, I have been three times arrested. Such proceedings appear to me in direct opposition with the reiterated proofs and assurances your Excellency has kindly given me of your

favourable disposition towards me; and they assuredly are opposed to the rules of conduct laid down for the government of St. Helena—rules which were officially communicated to me previously to my departure from Europe, and in the propriety of which I did not hesitate to believe, since the persons confined here are not criminals. I, however, find myself shut up in my habitation, as in a cloister, and unless I am accompanied by one of your subordinate officers, I can neither see nor attend any body beyond the limits fixed by yourself: I am, moreover, perfectly well received in private by my colleagues in my profession; but in public I am shunned, and even rejected by them. I am willing to believe, that this kind of shyness only proceeds from the deep impression of terror made on the minds of the inhabitants of this island; nevertheless, my situation is most painful and difficult to be borne; and but for the motive which induced me to come here,—but for the treatment which I have already successfully employed against the endemic chronic hepatitis under which the Emperor Napoleon has long been labouring in this variable and dangerous climate, I do not hesitate to say, that I should

have already requested your Excellency's permission to return to my native land.

"Allow me, at least, to request you will take into consideration the true state of affairs; the heat of the season, the power of the sun, which darts its rays almost perpendicularly upon our heads, the effects of which, as prompt as they are fatal, are probably not unknown to your Excellency.

"Let me further beg of you to recollect the unhealthy climate we inhabit, and to spare me the unpleasantness of being arrested during the only hours at which, at this time of the year, it is possible to walk out and breathe, at least in the park, a pure air, or rather an air less injurious; as I have already been, on two separate occasions, violently attacked with colics, which have confined me several days together to my bed, and have been attended with some danger.

"Lastly, I entreat your Excellency to grant us that degree of liberty which is not denied to all honest men—to all men who cannot be accused of even the shadow of crime; if, indeed, there exist the possibility of liberty in this island.

"Excuse the liberty I have taken of occupy-

ing so much of your time, to inform you of the difficulties under which I am labouring in the exercise of my profession.

" I have the honour to be,
" Sir,
" Your Excellency's most humble
" and most obedient Servant,
" F. ANTOMMARCHI."

" Very well," said the Emperor, " now write " also to Hamilton. That minister has bestow- " ed praises on your work: he feels an interest " for you; it is not possible that he should " suffer this * * * * * to deny your even the " liberty of going to breathe a little air under " a leafless tree."

I followed the Emperor's advice, and wrote.

" Longwood, 23d Dec. 1819.

" SIR,

" Three months have elapsed since my arrival in this island, which I had the honour of announcing to you in another letter. Allow me to avail myself of the kind dispositions you have manifested in my favour, to inform you of the situation in which I find myself, in a place to which I have come of my own accord.

" I begin by confessing frankly, that I can-

not conceive why attempts are made to oblige me to consider my condition in the light of that of a monk, a hermit, or a slave, since habits long since acquired render me totally unfit to fulfil the duties which such conditions might impose upon me.

"I find myself in the middle of the ocean, in an almost uninhabitable island, and deprived of every kind of liberty: what more have I to fear? . . . . Such, however, is my situation, that, although all my time is devoted to study, and to the relief of suffering humanity in this island, which nature seems to have stamped with a deep impression of melancholy and reprobation, I see all its inhabitants shun the neighbourhood of Longwood with as much dread as, in eternity, they might fly from the approach to Hell. This terror seems to have taken possession of their minds, to the total exclusion of every other feeling. My colleagues in my profession share the general alarm: they seem to tremble at my aspect; and, instead of a return of the polite manner in which I am in the habit of behaving towards them, I only experience from them rough deportment and refusals. Nor can I well blame them, since they could not possibly

come near me, or say a single word to me, without the certainty that the local authorities would immediately be informed of it. Telescopes, pointed towards our habitations, pry even into our apartments; and telegraphs, very dexterously contrived, instantly convey a report of every thing that takes place in them. If I wish to stray beyond the narrow limits to which we are circumscribed, I am obliged to accept the company of an agent of the Governor, who is ordered to give him a faithful account of every thing I may do or say in his presence; so that, in order to escape from the danger of his communications, I find myself under the necessity of foregoing every kind of relation or social intercourse. This is not all: after half-past six in the afternoon, I am no longer allowed to walk even in the park near my residence; and what is worse, the inhabitants of Longwood, who happen to be out after that hour, are not at liberty to return home, as it has already happened to me three times. Is it possible to conceive a measure more absurd, and tyrannical at the same time, particularly in this burning climate?

"As soon as it is half-past six in the evening, the limits of Longwood, which comprise

a circle of about thirty *toises** in circumference, are surrounded by a great number of sentries; whose express orders are, not to allow any person either to go in or come out, and to stop every one that appears. At nine these sentries narrow the circle they form, and are placed so near our habitations, that I cannot leave my apartment to go to my laboratory, to Count Bertrand's, or even to the stables, without being exposed to receive a thrust of a bayonet from not knowing how to answer properly to the challenge of the soldiers, addressed to me in a language in which I am not yet conversant. In the evening, or at night, when the duties of my situation require my attendance on the Emperor, as the local distribution of Longwood does not admit of my going through his apartments, I am obliged to pass before I know not how many sentries, who look at me, watch me, and do not lose sight of me, until I have reached my destination.

"Such is the faithful account of my horrible situation; and unless your kind mediation with Lord Bathurst should succeed in obtaining for me a sufficient degree of liberty, to enable me at least to acquire some scientific notions rela-

* A *toise* measures about 6½ English feet.

tive to this dismal rock, I know not whether my resignation will be able to bear, for a greater length of time, the excess of violence to which it is exposed: but I am full of confidence in your powerful protection; and I presume to hope, that your generous interference will have the effect of rendering my residence on this island less melancholy and less unpleasant.

"Accept the sincere assurance of the profound respect with which I have the honour to be,

"Your Excellency's
"Most humble and most devoted
"Servant,
"F. ANTOMMARCHI."

I complained, unable to do any thing better, and his Excellency cared little about my complaints; but the Minister had shown himself kindly disposed in my favour, and I applied to him: this gave a more serious turn to the case. The limits were, therefore, widened, and I could henceforth breathe and circulate freely, and had no longer to fear being taken to the guard-room, or wounded by a thrust of a bayonet. And this was not all: Hudson added advice

to liberty, and addressed me a lecture, which I really deserved.—I constantly repeated a name which he could not hear; I always spoke of the *Emperor:* I should oblige him to refuse receiving my letters, and, consequently, to deprive himself of the pleasure of corresponding with me . . . This solicitude was most affecting no doubt, but was very ill-bestowed.

We had made our arrangements to dig a basin. The Emperor was dressed in a large pair of trowsers and a jacket, with an enormous hat, made of straw of Bengal, on his head, and a kind of sandal to his feet. I therefore left this stuff without an answer, and followed him, as he proceeded towards a party of Chinese, whom he had sent for, to assist us in the completion of our labours. We saw them examining us, laughing, and becoming less noisy, as we advanced nearer to them. "What "is the matter with them? what amuses them? "It is, perhaps, my dress?"—"Probably, Sire, they are surprised to see you dressed as a workman, like themselves."—We had joined them; and they set to work, and continued working for some time, until at last mirth prevailed, and became so general that it reached the Emperor himself.—"What is it? what do they

"say?"—Not one of us understood the Chinese; so that we were unable to answer him. "It must be my costume that causes their "mirth; and it is, indeed, odd enough. But "with all their laughing they must not be "burnt up by the heat: every one of them "shall also have a straw-hat, as a present from "me."

The Emperor left us, and bent his steps towards a clump of trees. We thought he had gone for the purpose of seeking a little fresh air, when we saw him on horseback, followed by his *piqueur*. He rode up and down for a few minutes, and then, starting suddenly, he galloped to Deadwood. Having reached the summit of the mountain, he stopped, pointed his glass, looked round him, and came back as swiftly as he had gone. This simple excursion immediately became an affair of state. A horseman had been seen, dressed like a Chinese: How had he made his appearance? whence did he come? what was his business? The Governor could not possibly make it out. The Emperor, who was highly amused by his fears, took it into his head to increase them. For that purpose he made Vignali put on a dress similar to his own, gave him his horse, his

piqueur, and his glass, ordering him to ride fast, and appear to be making observations. The missionary went, was seen and noticed, and the tranquillity of the whole island was immediately disturbed. Signals were made; Hudson, Gorrequer, Reade—all instantly turned out, and proceeded to Longwood. This was a conspiracy—an attempt to carry off somebody . . . it was . . . Vignali in disguise. The Governor confused, withdrew. I met him as he was going away: he came up to me, gave vent to his anger, and ended by declaring, that the individual who thus laughed at his expense was only an usurper. — "No doubt!" was my reply. The tone of simplicity with which it was pronounced deceived Sir Hudson: his eye assumed an expression of benevolence towards me, as he continued to rave and swear, ending once more by the astounding statement, that he was an usurper, and that I could not deny the fact.— "Certainly not," answered I; "it is a fact of which I feel too much ashamed to attempt to dispute its existence." His Excellency, surprised at this concession on my part, now became quite gracious, and invited me to speak without reserve. I immediately obeyed. "The Emperor," said I, "(for by calling him General

you acquit him of one of his usurpations, and I wish to reckon them all,) is loaded with the crime of which you accuse him. At Toulon, he usurped the victory, and wickedly snatched the torch from the hands of your Eratostratus; he usurped it again at Montenotte, Castiglione, Lodi, and on the Tagliamento: he usurped our admiration by the rapidity of his triumphs; by revenging, under the walls of *Pavia*, the affront sustained by Francis the First; by his famous retreat, when, sacrificing his hopes and his artillery, he raised the siege of Mantua, marched, beat the enemy, and taught him that a surprise, an advantage, are often only the forerunners of a defeat: he usurped it again, when, left to himself, deprived of fleets and transports, he carried on the war in the midst of the deserts, opened canals, searched the sands, and cultivated, as he fought, all the arts of peace." I was going to continue this catalogue of usurpations; but I had the awkwardness to mention the manner in which some emigrants had been cut to pieces at Quiberon, and some Russians at the Helder: his Excellency would hear no more.

I returned to the Chinese, whom the Emperor was exciting to work. "Well! what did

" Hudson say to you? Is he afraid that I " shall some day get wings and fly away, and " escape the grave?"—" I know not, Sire: I was relating to him how you had usurped victory and public admiration; the sketch displeased him, and he retired." Napoleon was very much amused at this new misadventure; he laughed, pitied Hudson, and thought he had been too much teazed for one day. By degrees the Emperor turned the conversation upon the events I had been endeavouring to recapitulate to Lowe, repeated some anecdotes connected therewith, bestowed praise on some, related honourable actions of others. " Auge- " reau was skilful and courageous; he was be- " loved by the soldiers, and fortunate in his " operations.—Joubert had the genius of war.— " Massena was endowed with a degree of dar- " ing confidence and a quickness of conception " which I have never seen equalled; but he " was covetous of glory, and would not suffer " himself to be deprived of the praises he " thought he had deserved. The bulletins " were hastily drawn up; they were intended " to satisfy the curiosity of the idle, and some- " times did not give to every one his due " share of applause. He thought his services

" before Mantua had not been properly appre-
" ciated, and he expostulated, and wrote to me
" on the subject. 'I have read,' said he, 'your
" account of the battle of St. George, and of
" the affair of Cerea; and have observed, with
" the utmost surprise, that you bestow praises
" upon some generals who, far from having
" contributed to the success of that brilliant
" day, have nearly caused the destruction of
" my division destined to the attack of La Fa-
" vorite, and that you do not say a single word
" about me or Rampon. I have also reason to
" complain of your reports of the affairs of
" Lonado and Roveredo, in which you do not
" render to me the justice I deserve.

" 'These omissions wound my feelings, and
" quite dishearten me; and I shall therefore
" recal to mind, since I am forced to it, that
" the gaining of the battle of St. George is due
" to my military dispositions, to my activity,
" coolness, and foresight.

" 'Through the fault of General Sahuguet,
" who had not attacked La Favorite, as your
" orders directed, considerable numbers of the
" enemy had thrown themselves between St.
" George and La Favorite; and but for the
" order I gave to the intrepid General Rampon,

" to advance on my right and attack the ene-
" my, my division would have been outflanked,
" and the day lost. The brave 32d had to
" maintain a most obstinate combat during four
" hours, and yet you say not a word either of
" myself or Rampon, who have both acted the
" principal parts in that memorable day.

" ' Chabran, alone, marched at the head of
" the grenadiers; he remained there during the
" whole action: Marmont and Leclerc only
" came up in the midst of the conflict. I have
" undoubtedly every reason to be satisfied with
" the manner in which they behaved; but their
" conduct ought not to make us forget what is
" due to Chabran, an officer as intelligent as he
" is brave, and whom I have long since asked
" you in vain to promote to the rank of briga-
" dier-general.

" ' My letter is written with my accustomed
" candour and loyalty; and I flatter myself that
" by opening my heart to you, I shall induce
" you to render justice to myself, and to several
" officers of my staff.'

" —Laharpe was a man of the same cast: se-
" vere, independent; prodigal of his life in the
" field of battle, but jealous of his share in
" the victory. He perished by one of those

" accidents so common during a war. He was " returning from reconnoitring; the night was " dark and tempestuous, he did not answer " the challenge of the sentry, and fell a vic- " tim to his zeal. He was a Swiss of the " Canton of Berne, a warm partizan of the new " order of things, and having been obliged to " fly, his property had been confiscated. I had " the satisfaction of causing it to be restored " to his son. The Swiss were in want of grain, " and applied for permission to purchase some " in Italy; I granted it, but on condition that " the confiscation should be revoked; and I or- " dered Barthelemy, our ambassador at Bâle, " to see it done.

" I had more trouble with an aide-de-camp " of mine, the brave Colonel Muiron, who was " killed at Arcole. He had served from the " very beginning of the Revolution in the corps " of artillery, and had particularly distinguish- " ed himself at the siege of Toulon, where he " had been wounded as he entered through an " embrasure into the celebrated English re- " doubt.

" His father had been arrested on account of " his being a *fermier-général*. Colonel Muiron " presented himself before the Convention and

" the Revolutionary Committee of his section,
" covered with the blood he had just shed in
" defence of his country, and succeeded in ob-
" taining his father's liberation.

" On the occasion of the 13th Vendemiaire,
" Muiron commanded one of the divisions of
" artillery which defended the Convention, not-
" withstanding the entreaties of a great num-
" ber of his acquaintances, and of the persons
" composing his society. I asked him whether
" the Government might rely upon him. —' Yes,'
" answered he, ' I have sworn to maintain the
" Republic; I belong to the armed force, and
" shall obey by obeying my chiefs. I am, be-
" sides, by principle, an enemy to all Revolu-
" tionists; and quite as much to those who only
" adopt their maxims and proceedings, in order
" to re-establish the throne, as to those who
" would bring back that cruel system under
" which my father and my family have so long
" suffered.' And, in fact, he behaved very
" gallantly, and was extremely useful in that
" engagement which saved liberty.

" I had selected him to be my aide-de-camp
" at the commencement of the campaign of
" Italy. He rendered most essential services

" in almost every action, and died gloriously " at last, on the field of battle, at Arcole, leav- " ing a young widow eight months gone with " child.

" In consideration of the services he had " rendered in the different campaigns of this " war, I asked that the name of his mother- " in-law should be erased from the list of emi- " grants, on which it had been inscribed, " although she had never left France; and I " claimed the same act of justice in favour of " his brother-in-law, whose name had been re- " gistered in the fatal list, when he was only " fourteen years old, whilst abroad for his edu- " cation."

From the men who had contributed to his victories, the Emperor passed to the consideration of the movements and combinations which had decided them. These form a series of conceptions, manœuvres, and proofs of intrepidity, of which no other example is to be found in the annals of history. In three years he had conquered all the northern part of Italy; opposed, with about thirty or forty thousand men, the greatest efforts of Austria; and made six campaigns.

FIRST CAMPAIGN.

Bonaparte draws General Beaulieu under the walls of Genoa, attacks him on his flanks, outflanks his right, defeats him at Montenotte, marches alternately to Dego and Mondovi, drives Beaulieu to Milan, Colli, Turin; reduces the King of Sardinia to submit, passes the bridge of Lodi, takes possession of Lombardy, crosses the Mincio, besieges Mantua, and in less than two months, from the mountains of Genoa, plants his flag on those of Tyrol, traverses Illyria, and appears on the confines of Germany.

The impression of surprise produced all over Europe by these brilliant achievements is not yet forgotten. The parties in France, and our enemies abroad, described this general, twenty-six years old, as a rash-headed young man, whose very presumption would cause his ruin and confusion. Subsequent events shewed what reliance was to be placed on their predictions.

SECOND CAMPAIGN.

The first effect of these signal advantages was to oblige Wurmser to evacuate Alsatia, and

cross the Rhine with forty thousand men to come to the assistance of Tyrol. This general arrives on the Adige with eighty thousand men, takes Montebaldo, penetrates through the valley of Sabia, and reaches Verona and Brescia at the same time. To this new and formidable enemy we could only oppose thirty thousand men; having to preserve our conquests, and to besiege Mantua, which was on the point of surrendering, though it contained a garrison of upwards of eight thousand men. In this second campaign it is that Bonaparte shews himself superior to Frederick, who had been in a similar situation. He does not obstinately persist in the siege of Mantua, as the King of Prussia had done with that of Prague; but supplying the inferiority of his numbers by the resources of his great genius, and the celerity of his movements, his resolutions and his operations follow each other with the same rapidity, and entirely disconcert the enemy, who never could find the French army, at daybreak, where he had left it at the beginning of the night. These bold and beautiful conceptions were crowned by the battles of Lonato and Castiglione; and Wurmser, defeated in spite of his numerous ca-

valry, returned to the passes of Tyrol, leaving great part of his army in the hands of the French.

In all these movements, which will present matter for useful meditation to those who follow the career of arms, Bonaparte shewed that very often the best means of defence consists in attacking; and that the art of conducting a war on a large scale lies chiefly in being able to regain the liberty of option, when it has been lost by the first success of the enemy.

His reputation was now established all over Europe; all the French generals acknowledged him as their master, and the old companions of Frederick, from that moment, proclaimed him to be the hero worthy of bearing the sceptre of war, unappropriated since Frederick's death.

THIRD CAMPAIGN.

Bonaparte had conquered; but, having had to contend with the greatest difficulties, he preserved a lively feeling of resentment. He recollected that Wurmser had more than once occupied his head-quarters, and he did not consider himself sufficiently avenged by the destruction of his plans and of part of his army,

He heard that that general had received reinforcements, and had marched from Tyrol on the Brenta. Bonaparte immediately proceeded up the Adige towards Roveredo, defeated half the Austrian army, advanced towards Lavis, made a feint to march on Inspruck, and suddenly extended his operations along the Brenta. The dispositions of the Austrians were useless—he triumphed over every obstacle.

Bonaparte attacked and defeated the enemy, pursued him closely, and drove him on the Adige, which he crossed before him. Wurmser was on the point of laying down his arms, but one of those chances which baffle all calculations enabled him to effect his retreat, and he went and shut himself up in Mantua, with ten thousand cavalry, several regiments of cuirassiers, his staff and baggage.

The execution of these movements was so rapid, and the defeat so complete, that Austria was not apprised of these disasters, until she heard by public report that she no longer had an army of Italy, that her frontiers were quite unprotected, and her general shut up in the only place that remained in his possession.

It is easy to observe that in these bold manœuvres Bonaparte had not left any thing

to chance; and although his marches at first view excite surprise, it is soon perceived that a retreat is secured, and the measures to be adopted in case of a reverse decided upon. Military men will notice, with a deep interest, the numerous and frequent points of resemblance between this campaign and that of the army of reserve. In both they will find Bonaparte manœuvring upon the enemy's line of operations, placing himself between the enemy's troops and his magazines, intercepting his retreat, and deciding at one blow the fate of a whole army.

FOURTH CAMPAIGN.

It will be easily conceived how much the Court of Vienna must have felt irritated by these repeated reverses. Austria was aware that Bonaparte had only a handful of men, and she resolved to try her utmost to liberate her blockaded Field-marshal and save Mantua. Alvinzi was sent for that purpose at the head of a formidable army. Fifty thousand men marched through Friuli, and twenty thousand through Tyrol. We could not oppose so great a force, and finding it impossible to

resist, or to preserve a range of country so extensive, the French general only endeavoured at first to check the movements of the enemy by various corps of observation which he posted on the Brenta. Alvinzi forced these corps, passed the Piava, and Bonaparte was obliged to evacuate the whole tract of country comprised between the Brenta and the Adige. At Caldero he endeavoured to resume the offensive, but his efforts were unsuccessful; and he besides received information that some of the enemy's divisions occupied the right bank of the river, and had already reached Rivoli.

Italy now appeared irretrievably lost, and the raising of the siege of Mantua inevitable. The army was mustered at Verona, and was found to consist of only fifteen thousand men capable of bearing arms. These defiled in the dark of the evening; and every one thought we were continuing to effect our retreat, but this was not the case. The troops were ordered to move on the Adige, which they crossed at two o'clock in the morning, and Bonaparte gave the celebrated battle of Arcole. Although the chief object he had in view had failed from the commencement of the action, this skilful manœuvre procured him the advantage of forcing the

enemy to evacuate the fine position of Caldero, and driving him amongst the marshes, where he was compelled to fight upon the dykes; by which means the advantage of the superiority of his numbers was greatly diminished. His divisions, beaten one after the other, and discouraged, fled from the field of battle, and threw themselves in disorder behind the Brenta.

Bonaparte having constantly rallied victory round our standard, the public, who frequently judge only by results, have perhaps thought that all his plans had constantly been successful. Such a supposition would be very erroneous: the best-concerted measures have often turned against him; but nobody was more prompt or more skilful in substituting others in place of those that had failed, and in obliging fortune again to become favourable.

FIFTH CAMPAIGN.

In this fifth campaign were fought the battles of Rivoli and La Favorite, which led to the possession of Mantua. The first of these battles was more glorious for our army than that of Marengo, since, with eighteen thousand men, we defeated forty thousand, of which twenty

thousand were taken prisoners. With such an inferiority of numbers, and on a field of battle of only five square leagues, it was particularly in this action that the chief of the army displayed the great art of shewing his superiority on every point of attack. He could not, on a surface of only seven or eight leagues. or in an interval of thirty-six or forty-eight hours, outmarch the Austrian columns; but he defeated them one after the other, although they were only distant from each other a few hundred *toises.* The issue of these brilliant affairs of Rivoli and La Favorite was the consequence of a perfect knowledge of the field of battle, of a rare sagacity in penetrating the plans of the enemy, and of an unequalled degree of promptitude in devising the means of counteracting them.

At Rivoli, the division of the enemy selected to turn the French army arrived accordingly at the position it was directed to take; but it only arrived after the other divisions had been defeated, and was surrounded and reduced to lay down its arms.

SIXTH CAMPAIGN.

Master of Mantua, Bonaparte marched on Rome, taking with him only five thousand men.

and signed the treaty of Tolentino, whilst Europe still thought him beyond the Appenines. Disregarding the vain glory of making a triumphal entry in the Capitol, he loses not a moment, joins his army once more on the Piava, and commences his sixth campaign.

In this campaign, after having, in less than two months, defeated the Archduke Charles on the Tagliamento, on the Isonzo, and at Tarvis; after having crossed the Julian Alps, the Draave, the Saave, and the Muehr, he obliges the House of Austria to conclude a peace. He was master of Trieste, of Istria, Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, and of a great part of Austria: he was in a situation to cause the voice of humanity to be listened to.

Our troops had penetrated to the gates of Vienna. Bellegarde and Merfeldt hastened to his head-quarters, to implore him to grant a suspension of arms. Bonaparte consented; and as they were discussing the limits of the corps of Generals Bernadotte and Joubert, "Where do "you think, gentlemen," said he, "that Ber- "nadotte is?"—"Perhaps at Fiume?"—"No; "he is in my drawing-room, and his division is "half-a-mile from here. And Joubert, where "do you suppose him to be?"—"Perhaps at

Inspruck, if indeed he has been able to oppose the column of grenadiers that is marching from the army of the Rhine?"—"Well, he is also in "my drawing-room, and his troops are march- "ing after him."

These two answers surprised the Austrians; and the more so, as their general had just sent considerable detachments to defend the provinces of Carniola and Tyrol, through which he thought Generals Bernadotte and Joubert were to pass. Thus, whilst the enemy was dividing his forces, Bonaparte had concentred in a space of about six square leagues the whole of his troops, amounting to forty-six thousand men.

CAMPAIGNS OF EGYPT AND SYRIA.

Shortly after peace had been concluded, Bonaparte sailed for Egypt. He appeared before Malta; and the influence of his name, the confidence inspired by his intervention, and the vigour of his attack, disconcerted the enemy, who surrendered the place, which had never before been taken.

Having landed in Egypt, he at once perceives what kind of warfare is adapted to the country, estimates the value of the troops by which it is

defended, and prepares the tactics the most proper to be adopted.

The battle of the Pyramids, at the gates of Cairo; that of Mount Thabor, in the heart of Syria; and that of Aboukir,—are all three of a different character of conception. He manœuvres with unequalled skill, and applies to circumstances, as new as they are varied, all the resources of the art of war.

Whilst these events were passing in Egypt, our armies were beaten at Stokach and on the Adige. We had conquered at Zurich, but Italy was lost to us; and our armies, discouraged, and without combination, either in their plans or in their movements, had ceased to be the terror of the enemies of France. Civil war raged in our western and southern departments; factions were tearing each other to pieces, and an imbecile Government vainly sought to ensure its safety by fomenting divisions.

CAMPAIGN OF THE ARMY OF RESERVE.

Bonaparte arrives from Egypt; hope returns, expectations are revived. The events of the 18th Brumaire justify those expectations, and every thing rallies round or yields to the genius

that conceives, the power that directs, and the moderation that restores confidence. But it is not enough to bring back order by the power of the laws, peace must be conquered by victory.

When Bonaparte was appointed First Consul, we had just lost the last place we possessed in Italy (Coni); our posts had fallen back on the summit of the Alps; we had not an inch of ground or a single place in Italy; all Germany was evacuated: we acted on the defensive, and occupied the places on the left bank of the Rhine. The western departments were up in arms; our enemies were every where formidable, ready to invade our frontiers, and change the destinies of the state: but Bonaparte took the direction of affairs; we once more crossed the Rhine, passed the Alps, and the Coalition, beaten and humbled, was reduced to accept a peace.

Our labours advanced: we had dug the basin, and prepared part of the pipes that were to bring the water from a distance of three thousand feet. We had still several pipes to lay down; but the weather threatened rain, and Napoleon being satisfied with his Chinese work-

men, was unwilling that they should be exposed to it.—"It is useless," said he, "that "these people should get wet: there is no "hurry for this basin; let them rest, we will "resume our task hereafter. I have, besides, "some observations to make: come, follow me; "you will find them interesting." I went, and found that the object of his observations was some ants, whose manners he had been studying. These insects had appeared in greater numbers in his bed-room since he occupied it less, and had climbed upon his table, on which there was usually some sugar. Allured by the bait, they had immediately established a chain of communication and taken possession of the sugar-basin. Napoleon was anxious that they should not be disturbed in their plans; he only now and then moved the sugar, following their manœuvres, and admiring the activity and industry they displayed until they had found it again. "This is not instinct," said he; "it is "much more—it is sagacity, intelligence, the "ideal of civil association. But these little "beings have not our passions, our cupidity; "they assist, but do not destroy each other. "I have vainly endeavoured to defeat their "purpose: I have removed the sugar to every

" part of the room; they have been one, two,
" or sometimes three days, looking for it, but
" have always succeeded at last. The idea
" strikes me to surround the basin with water,
" and see whether that will stop them: Doctor,
" send for some." But water did not stop them—the sugar was still pillaged. The Emperor then substituted vinegar, and the ants no longer ventured to approach.—" You see it is
" not instinct alone that guides them: they are
" prompted by something else; but what, I
" know not. However, be the principle which
" directs them what it may, they offer to man
" an example worthy of observation and reflec-
" tion. It is only by perseverance and tenacious-
" ness that any object can be attained. . . . Had
" we possessed such unanimity of views! . . .
" But nations have also their moments of for-
" getfulness and lassitude . . . . Allowance must
" be made for the weakness of human nature.
" However, all had not yielded to the storm.
" If the hero of Castiglione was extinct, Gerard,
" Clausel, Belliard, Lamarque, and a host of
" others, still preserved the fire and energy
" which mark the early steps in a career. Eu-
" rope would have been beaten, and those sove-
" reigns, now so proud at the idea of no longer

" having for their equal a man of the people,
" would have been eclipsed in my presence!"—
Napoleon then began to discuss the new dogmas which they seek to defend, and the mystical rights on which they found them. — " What
" ridiculous pretensions! what contradictions!
" Are these principles of legitimacy in con-
" formity with the Scripture—with the laws
" and maxims of religion? Are nations simple
" enough to believe themselves the property of
" a family? Was David, who dethroned Saul,
" a legitimate? Had he any other rights
" than those he derived from the consent of his
" nation? In France, various families have suc-
" ceeded each other on the throne, and have
" formed several dynasties, either by the will of
" the people, represented by the assemblies of
" the *Champ-de-Mars* or *Champ-de-Mai*; or
" by the votes of the parliaments, composed of
" barons and bishops, who at that period re-
" presented the nation. How many families
" have successively occupied the throne of Eng-
" land!—The house of Hanover, which suc-
" ceeded the prince it dethroned, now reigns,
" because such was the will of the ancestors of
" the present race of these touchy people, who

"thought this change of Government absolutely "necessary to the preservation of their inte- "rests and of their political and religious rights. "Some of the old men still living have wit- "nessed the efforts made by the last branch of "the Stuarts to land in Scotland, where they "were seconded by those whose ideas and sen- "timents were conformable to their own. The "attempt was opposed, and the Stuarts ex- "pulsed by an immense majority of the people, "whose new interests and opinions were op- "posed to those of that degenerate family."

The Emperor now recapitulated all the circumstances of his elevation, and insisted on his having had the voice and consent of the people. "The Aulic Council," added he, laughing, "also "persisted in denying the existence of the Re- "public, from which it had, however, received "some severe blows. At a later period, indeed, "its plenipotentiaries offered me, during the ne- "gotiations of Campo Formio, to acknowledge "it.—'No,' said I; 'strike out that clause: the "existence of the Republic is as clear as that of "the sun—blindness alone can prevent any one "from seeing it. Times are now altered, and "I must not lend my sanction to an absurdity.

"But let us go out and take a walk." We went out accordingly: the Chinese were completing their arrangements, and we witnessed the arrival of the water into our basin.—"This "is well; but where shall we place the aviary?" —"Here, Sire?"—"No, further—behind you; "it will be better there, the prospect is more "open. You will arrange that, Doctor; if, how- "ever, occupations of a more serious nature "do not occur to prevent you."

Unfortunately such occupations did occur.— The Emperor, whose disorder I considered, if not entirely removed, at least considerably abated, suddenly relapsed into his former state. I had recourse to baths, to emollients, to every remedy, in short, which he did not refuse to take, but in vain: the blow was struck; and if I succeeded in arresting the progress of the disease for one moment, it was to see it rage the next with increased violence. This cruel alternative alarmed me, and I thought it my duty to inform the Emperor's family of what was going on. I requested his permission to write to Rome, and having obtained it, I addressed to the Chevalier Colonna the following letter:

"St. Helena, Longwood,
"18th July, 1820.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"I HAVE not heard from you since I left Europe, and am uneasy at your silence. I wish to know how you are, and I am sure you will be desirous of having some account of the Emperor Napoleon, whose health is entrusted to my care.

"I have now been already ten months in this island, and I can assure you that I have not passed a single day or night without devoting to the illustrious patient all the care and assistance my zeal and my medical knowledge could suggest. I found him labouring under a *chronic hepatitis* of the most serious nature. The remedies I had adopted seemed to have produced a beneficial effect; he was recovering, took exercise, and I had advised him to superintend, or rather to conduct, the formation of a garden consisting of a few *toises* of ground round his house; but whilst indulging the most flattering hopes, I have had the bitter disappointment of seeing those hopes destroyed, and the fruit of several months of care and anxiety entirely lost. The complaint has exhibited a continual alternation of amendment and relapse; and I must confess that I now despair

of a favourable issue, the influence of the climate, which is the primary cause of the *chronic hepatitis*, being too contrary to the constitution of the illustrious patient, and to the action of the remedies I have prescribed.

" The Emperor has lately experienced a most serious relapse. Violent fever—deep and acute pain in the liver—acute and pulsative pain in the articulation between the right leg and foot—erysipelatous inflammation, extending along the back of the foot and a third part of the lower extremity of the leg. I do not hesitate to affirm that these affections are produced by a disordered state of the digestive, and an alteration of the functions of the biliary organs. The patient's case does not, however, present any imminent danger, but precludes all hopes of recovery in a tropical climate. By degrees the morbific symptoms extend, and assume a more serious appearance, and I am afraid my cares and wishes may be soon as cruelly disappointed as your hopes.

" I had at first thought of laying before his Eminence Cardinal Fesch a detailed report of the state of the Emperor's health ; but the fear of increasing the affliction of Madame Mère, by this melancholy picture, has determined me

to address it to you; and you will make that use of my letter which will appear to you the most proper with regard to his Majesty's family.

"Accept the assurance of the sincere attachment of

"Your affectionate friend,

"F. ANTOMMARCHI."

19th July.—The Emperor experienced shivering, fever, pain in the head, nausea, dry and frequent coughing, and vomiting of a bilious quality, extremely bitter.—Pain in the liver, excessively violent, and extending to the shoulder —respiration difficult and painful—lower part of the leg, and the right foot, affected with a tumour, attended with violent pain, and erysipelatous inflammation, particularly above the external *malleolus.** These symptoms, which appeared on the 7th, had now reached the highest state of aggravation.—Ordered rest, refrigerant beverages, local fomentations, saponaceous liniments and enemas.

20th. — Saw the Emperor at ten o'clock, A.M.; he had slept about three hours. At daybreak, slight intermittent perspiration—pulse

* Part of the ancle.

apyretic. The intensity of the morbific symptoms had diminished, but the pain in the articulation was still felt. The patient refused purgatives, and I continued the use of local fomentations, liniments, enemas, &c.

21st.—The Emperor better.—Enemas—liniments.

22d.—Same state of health.—Bath.—Towards the evening the pain in the articulation decreased, and the tumour increased.—Enema —liniment.

23d.—The Emperor had passed a most restless and agitated night.—Dry cough.—pain in the liver, extending over the whole lateral region. Saw him again at four, P. M., and found that relief had been produced by the bath. At ten, P.M., the tumour of the articulation had still increased; pain and erysipelatous inflammation in the same state. Continued the application of liniments, and advised clarified whey.—Bath.

24th.—Napoleon better.—Whey—liniment —bath.

25th.—Same state.—Napoleon refused to continue to take whey.—Liniment—bath.

26th.—Same state.—Substituted rice-water for whey—liniment—bath. The Emperor felt

better. I had been speaking to him about Rome, and all his recollections had centered on his mother. He recalled her affection, the tender care she had bestowed on him; and suddenly stopping — "You are very much at- "tached to me, Doctor; you care not for con- "trarieties, pain, or fatigue, when you can re- "lieve my sufferings; yet all that is not mater- "nal solicitude. Ah! Mamma Letizia! . . . ." In saying this he hid his face. I endeavoured to offer to his mind some less melancholy images, by speaking to him of Italy, of Corsica, of those he had loved. At first he listened to me with indifference: but the name of his nurse having been pronounced in the course of the conversation, he expatiated on the care she had taken of him in his infancy, and her kind of worship of him. "She wished to witness the corona- "tion, and came to Paris. I was very much "entertained by her stories, and the lively ani- "mated manner in which she told them, and "the gesticulations *à la Génoise* with which she "accompanied them. She pleased Josephine "and all the family, and also the Pope, who "gave her abundance of benedictions, not con- "cealing at the same time his surprise at the "good sense and occasional flashes of wit of the

" pious old lady. I gave her something more " substantial than those benedictions, which she, " however, highly prized: I transferred to her " landed property and vines to the amount of " one hundred and twenty thousand francs, and " my paternal house. My mother, advised by " the Cardinal, took upon herself not to give up " the house; and put in it Ramolino, who offer- " ed part of his own in exchange. The nurse " remonstrated, but was not listened to. She " sent her daughter to Paris to complain; but " all access to me was closed, and she was " more than six months before she could get " her petition delivered. This opposition sur- " prised me, and I caused ample satisfaction " to be given to the old lady. I sent word to " Ramolino, that since he chose to keep our " house, he must immediately resign his own " entirely to the nurse, and pay her a sum of " twenty thousand francs. This he did; every " body was pleased, and my nurse had this " additional sum of money."

27th.—The Emperor had passed a bad night. The pain in the liver became more acute, extending over the whole of the right costal region, up to the shoulder. Violent pains in the bowels—dry cough—frequent nausea—vo-

miting of bilious matters—cephalalgia—oppression—skin yellowish white.—The patient refused to take rice-water.—Prescribed a cholagogue purgative, anodyne beverage, simple enemas, fomentations, liniments, and bathing; and at ten o'clock at night, he was rather better.

28th.—The Emperor continued better.—The pain in the articulation had entirely subsided; but the foot was still rather swollen.—Liniment—bath.

29th and 30th.—Same state of health—same prescription.—Advised, for the second time, thermal waters.

31st.—The Emperor well again.—His strength had returned, and he went out.—Fish had been brought to put into the ponds we had dug; and Napoleon desirous of throwing them into the water himself, went into the garden. The children of the Grand Marshal perceived him, and were soon round him. He had not seen them for some days, and purposing to send for them, was not sorry to find them beforehand with him.—"Send for the Doctor," said he to General Montholon, "I want his "ministry; he must bore these pretty little "ears" (showing those of little Hortense, and opening a paper, in which a pair of coral ear-

rings were folded-up.) I prepared accordingly to perform the little operation, but the sight of the instrument produced the usual effect,—the child cried, and the Emperor, fearing lest mamma should not be pleased, hesitated. His presence, however, and that of the ear-rings, soon dried up her tears. We retired under the shade of an oak-tree: General Montholon supported the patient; Napoleon looked on, and little Arthur stamped and stormed, crying out that he would not allow his sister to be hurt! Napoleon was highly amused by the anger, threats, and English phrases, of the little fellow, who only grumbled the more. "What do you "say, little rogue?" said the Emperor to him; "if you do not be quiet, I will have your ears "bored also: come, will you be obedient?"—The operation over, and the ear-rings put on, Napoleon embraced the amiable little creature, congratulating her on her courage, and sent her away: "Go and show your ears to mamma, and "if she is not satisfied, and does not approve "of the operation, tell her that it was not I, "but the *Dottoraccio*, who did it!"—"Yes, Sire;" and she bounded away and disappeared in an instant.

I remained alone with the Emperor. The

spirit of little Arthur had struck him; and, as he walked, he made me observe the firmness of the child.—"The little urchin!" said he; "I "was just as resolute at his age; nothing could "frighten or disconcert me. I was noisy and "quarrelsome, and feared nobody. I beat one, "scratched another, and made myself formi- "dable to all. Most of my encounters were "with my brother Joseph: he was beaten, bit- "ten, scolded; and I had already gone to com- "plain of him before he had had time to look "around him; and it was fortunate for me to "be thus alert, for Mamma Letizia would have "restrained my warlike humour, and would not "have put up with my pranks. Her affection "was tempered by severity; she punished and "rewarded without distinction—nothing we did, "either good or evil, was lost. My father, an "enlightened man, but too fond of pleasure to "trouble himself about our infancy, sometimes "endeavoured to excuse our faults. On those "occasions my mother would say to him, 'Leave "that to me, it is not your business; it is my "duty to watch over them:' and this she did "with unexampled care, discarding and stamp- "ing with disgrace every ignoble sentiment "and affection, and only allowing our young

" minds to imbibe impressions of what was
" great and elevated. She abhorred falsehood,
" punished disobedience, and did not allow any
" fault to pass unnoticed. I recollect a mis-
" adventure that happened to me, and the pe-
" nalty that was inflicted upon me for my fault.
" —There were some fig-trees in one of our
" vineyards, and we liked to climb them; but
" in so doing we might fall or meet with some
" accident, and she, therefore, forbade us to
" approach them without her knowledge. This
" prohibition was a source of great disappoint-
" ment to me; but still it was made, and I re-
" spected it. One day, however, being unoc-
" cupied, and assailed by *ennui*, I took it into
" my head to covet the figs: they were ripe,
" nobody saw me, and consequently, nobody
" would know any thing about the matter. In a
" I hastened to a tree, and gathered all the
" fruit it bore. My appetite being satisfied, I
" was laying in a provision for the road, by
" filling my pockets, when a keeper made his
" appearance. I was half dead, and remained
" motionless on the branch on which he had
" caught me. He threatened to bind me hand
" and foot, and carry me before my mother;
" Fear rendered me eloquent: I described the

" *ennui* produced by idleness, promised to re-
" spect the figs in future, and at last succeeded
" in appeasing him. I congratulated myself
" upon my narrow escape, and flattered myself
" that this adventure would not come to light;
" but the traitor keeper had told the whole
" story; and accordingly, the next day, the
" Signora Letizia felt desirous of gathering
" some figs, and proceeded to the tree for that
" purpose; but there were none left—I had
" carried all away. The keeper was sent for, an
" explanation ensued, a disclosure was made,
" and the guilty paid the penalty of his fault."

The Emperor had resumed his habits of early rising, and would frequently go and breathe the fresh air before sunrise. One day, his gums being painful, he entered my room, and addressing himself to me before I had perceived him: " I suffer, Doctor," said he: " my " teeth ach; what is to be done? let us see— " what says your work?" My anatomical plates were lying open before me, and without allowing me time to answer him, he began to discuss upon the work. He regretted it had not been executed sooner: he would have applied to anatomy; he would know it, and that would be an additional satisfaction to him.

He had often tried to study it, but disgust had overcome his wish to learn; he had never been able to conquer the sort of horror with which the sight of a corpse inspired him. These plates rendered dissection, as it were, useless; a single glance enabled one to discover the play and structure of the various organs, to observe their relation one to another, to trace their ramifications: the human frame was laid open and published. He was sorry the execution of the plan had been so long delayed. "Doctor, your "plates form a magnificent work: I wish them "to be dedicated to me—to appear under my "auspices: I am anxious to render this last "service to science. I will supply you with the "money, and you shall return to Europe and "publish them: I feel ambitious to contribute "to raise this monument." The Emperor often returned to this subject, and spoke each time with renewed satisfaction of the undertaking. "But why have you not drawn a line of demar- "cation to point out your share of the work, and "distinguish it from that of Mascagni? Every "man should enjoy the merit of the result of "his own researches. You have framed the "introduction to the work, you have written "the text of the anatomy of painters, and you

" publish the whole in the name of the professor!
" This is sacrificing too much, and acting too
" disinterested—too modest a part; every one
" must have his own."—" True, Sire, but my share is naturally pointed out in the work itself. Mascagni has engraved thirty plates, and given an account of his discoveries; what remains over and above that, is mine: let a comparison be made, I only claim the difference."

The progress of the Emperor's complaint was slow, but unceasing and visible; and it was particularly on the mind that its effect was marked. Napoleon now only spoke of the objects that had arrested his attention during his infancy, and of his friends and relations. The news that had been circulated respecting his son had grieved him beyond measure; he complained and bewailed the fate of that child, whose cradle had been surrounded by so many hopes. At last he heard that he had been named a corporal. " Ah! I breathe!" said he; and then, as if unwilling to betray his emotion, he began to speak of Corsica, and of the recollections he had preserved of that country. " When
" I visited Genoa after my accession to the
" throne of Italy, I thought myself suddenly
" transported to our mountains. Shape, man-

" ners, dress, arrangement of the shops—every " thing was like our country. This similarity " struck me, and Josephine enjoyed my asto- " nishment, and endeavoured to prolong its du- " ration."—" What! the features and habits are the same?"—" Yes; probably the Corsicans are " the bastards of the Genoese. This idea made " her laugh, and amused her very much. I " went out on horseback, rode over the heights, " and visited the positions which defend Genoa, " and fixed the works to be made to protect the " town. I could not help admiring this odd " fancy of Nature, in having, as it were, carved " the two countries after the same model. I " had been three hours rambling over these " rugged places: it was eleven o'clock, and I " was exhausted; I returned and set to work " with the worthy Gaudin, who presented me " the plan of the financial organization of Ligu- " ria. I was completely overcome with fatigue, " and he had hardly begun to read before I " was asleep. I begged him to desist for a " short time, whilst I went to take a few mi- " nutes rest; but I met in my passage some " generals who awaited my orders. I despatch- " ed their business, and remained thirty-six " hours at work; and it was only at my de-

" parture that I could sign the minister's plan. " This Duke of Gaëta was a man full of zeal, " and of the greatest probity: what services " he has rendered!" The Emperor briefly recapitulated the share he had had in our successes by his financial operations, and added: " A short time after the battle of Austerlitz, he " came and asked me for my cannons of bronze. " ' How!' said I, ' do you wish to wage war " against me?'—' No, Sire, I only wish to make " coining-dies of them.'—' My cannons for such " a purpose! use something else.'—' But I in- " tended that the words *Dies of Austerlitz* " should be engraved on every one.'—' Mini- " ster, you assail my vanity; well, be it so, I " give them to you.' "

We had now got to the end of the first fortnight in September. The pain in the liver returned, and became more acute; and the Emperor experienced disgust and nausea, followed by vomiting of bilious matter, and sensation of violent heat in the right hypochondriac and epigastric regions. Walking in open air, be the weather what it might, either hot or cold, calm or boisterous, became intolerable to him; he felt exhausted, and was obliged to seek rest.

18th.—Eyes sunk, conjunctiva of a yellow cast; lips and gums discoloured; tongue covered with a whitish substance; skin excessively pale, bordering upon yellow; complexion tinged with a greenish cast; pain in the head, particularly about the forehead and the eyebrows; night-mare *(incubus)*; uneasy sensation of heat in the thorax; breathing difficult, interrupted by deep sighs; feet and legs icy cold,—warmth restored to them by the application of warm linen; skin dry and burning; pulse low and quick (80); the epigastric region painful on pressure. The Emperor experienced a sensation of heaviness in the abdomen, disgust, and an almost unconquerable disposition to sleep. I endeavoured to rouse him from that state of lethargy by speaking of the care his health required. "Ah! "Doctor, forbear!" said he; "we are happy "when we sleep; wants, privations, cares, and "anxiety, are then no more:" and he fell again upon his pillow. He had a violent headach; and after many entreaties I succeeded in making him consent to take a purgative chologogue, which afforded great relief.

19th.—The Emperor had passed a better night, but the morbific symptoms had lost nothing of their intensity. The pain in the

head was, however, less violent, and the greenish cast of the face and the yellow tinge of the conjunctiva were also rather softened. The sensation of heaviness in the abdomen had disappeared, but had been succeeded by one of intolerable suffering, and by pains in the liver much more violent than before.—Bath.—The pulse was more regular, and the skin less dry and burning.

20th.—Same state. The Emperor went to take a ride in the calash, but returned in a few minutes exhausted with fatigue.

21st.—Same state of health. I advised tonics internally, and blisters on the arm and the nape of the neck, and particularly insisted upon opening an issue in the left arm; but Napoleon rejected every prescription that was recommended to him. I informed the Grand Marshal and General Montholon of the Emperor's situation.

22d.—The Emperor was better. After having taken a bath, wishing to breathe the open air, he tried to walk, to ride on horseback or in the calash, but fatigue and indisposition soon obliged him to come back and go to bed.

23d.—The Emperor's health in the same state. He however persisted in attempting to

take the air. He rode on horseback, and in the calash; but after having gone a short distance, he found himself compelled to return again, and to go to bed. He continued to try this kind of exercise for some days, persuading himself that motion is the first of remedies; but what with the heat of the sun, his cough, and shiverings that ran through all his limbs, he was obliged to give up the attempt. He again renewed it two days after; and alternately experiencing relief and relapses, he reached the 3d of October; on which day he experienced a general torpor, which was only dispelled by his being placed near the fire. The lower extremities were a long time getting warm; and this result had hardly been obtained before he was seized with convulsive contractions, and a sensation of extreme heaviness in the head.

4th October.—The Emperor came in at two o'clock, P.M., extremely tired, and went to bed, desiring that he might not be disturbed. He had taken a ride of two leagues and a half, partly on horseback, and partly in the calash; had rested at Sandy-bay-ridge, and stopped at Mr. Doveton's, where he breakfasted, and drank, he said, three glasses of champagne. He experienced a violent headach, and a general

sensation of uneasiness—dry and nervous cough —face extremely pale—eyes sunk—pulse low and nervous.

5th.—The Emperor continued to complain of head-ach, which was, however, less violent than yesterday. The pain in the liver had considerably increased, and extended as far as the right shoulder, and he still felt a most troublesome heaviness and a deep pain in the left hypochondriac region. No sensible alteration had occurred in the other symptoms. He took a little exercise in the garden.

6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th.—The bad weather prevented the Emperor from taking his ride in the calash, but he took a walk in the garden, after which he got into a bath heated to a high degree of temperature. I endeavoured to oppose this practice, but he told me it was followed in Egypt, and that he had derived the most beneficial results from it. "Your "colleagues, then, were also not sparing of "their remonstrances. I should catch the . . . "I cannot tell you what complaints I was to "catch!—Well! I caught none, and remained in "perfect health. My instinct served me better "than the science of Hippocrates, and my "brush and flannel were more efficacious than "all the efforts of his followers. This does not

" apply to you, Doctor, in whose skill I place " the greatest confidence; but I have the be- " nefit of my own experience, and am also " rather tenacious of my opinions."

10th.—The Emperor remained an hour in his bath, and was obliged to get out of it to go to bed, being so weak that he almost fainted. His strength did not return after he had been in bed; his face was pale, approaching to yellow, and he experienced a sensation of icy coldness all over the body. The senses, particularly that of hearing, seem impaired: pulse low and irregular.

11th, 12th, 13th.—The Emperor's health had not improved; on the contrary his strength appeared to decline. He woke in the middle of the night with a violent headach, and in a state of costiveness which enemas were insufficient to dispel: the extremities were deadly cold, his frame shook; he felt palpitations in the heart, and a general uneasiness, agitation in the abdomen, pain in the region of the sternum, breathing difficult, dry and nervous cough. His weakness was such that the slightest movement was sufficient to produce vertigos. At two o'clock in the morning the costiveness ceased, and he had copious evacuations, which

were followed by excessive debility. From three to five o'clock the intensity of these various symptoms diminished; but a new pain made its appearance, extending down the vertebral column, from the nape of the neck and the shoulders to the middle of the back.

14th.—The Emperor slept from six o'clock until nine, and woke with a deep pain in the left side of the head. The pain in the sternum still continued. Pulse low and regular. I advised emollients, and insisted upon the application of blisters.—"Doctor," said Napoleon, "no physicking. We are, as I have already "often told you, a machine made to live; we "are organized for that purpose, and such is "our nature. Do not counteract the living prin- "ciple; let it alone; leave it the liberty to de- "fend itself—it will do better than your drugs. "Our body is a watch that is intended to go a "given time. The watch-maker cannot open it, "and must, in handling it, grope his way blind- "fold and at random. For once that he assists "and relieves it, by dint of tormenting it with "his crooked instruments, he injures it ten "times, and at last destroys it." Thinking, probably, that this comparison which had particularly struck his fancy had not convinced me,

he began to discuss the uncertainty of medicine, and the danger arising from the drugs which the faculty distribute indiscriminately, and added:—"You are aware, Doctor, that "the art of healing consists only in lulling and "calming the imagination. That is the rea- "son why the ancients dressed up in robes, and "adopted a costume striking and imposing. "That costume you have unadvisedly aban- "doned; and in so doing you have exposed "the imposture of Galen, and no longer exercise "the same powerful influence over your patients. "Who knows whether, if you were suddenly to "appear before me with an enormous wig, a "cap, and a long train, I should not take you "for the god of health! whereas you are only "the god of medicines.

The Emperor, fearing lest I should again renew my importunities, endeavoured to elude them by joking on the subject: but mirth also affords relief to sufferings, and I therefore prolonged the conversation as much as possible.

15th.—The Emperor had passed a quiet night. The pain in the head was still felt, that of the sternum extended round the right breast, and the dry cough continued, with frequent and insipid ructations from the stomach.

The patient had eaten with a tolerable appetite, and his pulse, though low, was regular; but the paleness of the face, the lips, and all the limbs, had reached the highest pitch. At last I obtained leave to apply blisters, and put two on the arm at one o'clock, which only began to operate at five.—Perpetual state of agitation the whole day.

16th.—The blisters were removed: very little serosity was found beneath the portions of cuticle they had raised, and the paleness of the skin below was not altered.

The blister on the left side seemed to have produced a greater effect than that on the right, but neither had acted powerfully. The agitation continued; the pain in the head and chest had disappeared, but the cough had increased. The skin was dry and burning—pulse low and nervous. At four o'clock in the morning an abundant evacuation, accompanied with violent gripings. At eleven the cough still lasted, the head-ach returned, the pulse was low but regular. Napoleon took a walk of two hours in the garden; and towards evening his strength improved, and the head-ach left him.

17th.—The Emperor had passed a bad night, having suffered slight pains of colic, ac-

companied by frequent evacuations. He was, when I saw him at nine o'clock, rather better.—Pulse low but regular, and strength returning. A walk in the garden improved this favourable state. At sunset the patient experienced a general sensation of languor, which was dispelled by taking a little food.

18th.—Napoleon a little better. He went out, walked a few minutes in the garden, and returned to bed towards eight o'clock. The coldness of the feet extended by degrees up to the thighs; but by constant application of hot towels, the natural heat was restored.—Pulse regular and low.

19th.—The Emperor a little better; but at sunset the lower extremities again became cold. The blisters were dried up.—Pulse as usual.

20th.—The Emperor rather better. He went out in the calash, rode two hours, and came in exhausted with fatigue. He had scarcely got into bed before the coldness of the lower extremities appeared with increased violence, but was dispelled by degrees, and succeeded by a burning heat, which spread all over the body, and was followed by a general calm.—Pulse low and nervous.

21st.—Napoleon tolerably well. He took a bath, in which he remained about three-quarters of an hour. At twelve o'clock he went out into the garden, conversing upon the facilities and the obstacles he had met with at the period of the Consulate. "The armies were discou- "raged, beaten, driven on the line of the Var; "the enemy were close to our frontiers; we "were threatened with an invasion; but the "population fled to arms—all came forward: we "marched, and France was saved."—Napoleon entered into the most minute details: he spoke of Vallongnes, of the reports in circulation at the time, and of the spirit which animated the South. The picture did not much agree with the statement made by a noble emigrant in the *tribune*,* and with the offensive preparations which the *inconceivable battle of Marengo* rendered unavailing. "The Marquis must cer- "tainly have made a mistake as to numbers: "an army of twenty-five thousand men, pos- "sessed of courage, does not remain concealed, "and wait to beat to arms until the enemy has "left the field of battle. However, I do not "insist on this point; I merely recommend the

* Place from which members of public assemblies in France deliver their speeches.

"following document to the consideration of "this occult General; it is worth comparing "with his muster-rolls."

"Antibes, 20th Floreal, VIIIth Year of the Republic (10th May, 1800.)

"THE PREFECT OF THE DEPARTMENT OF "THE VAR TO THE MINISTER OF WAR.

"CITIZEN MINISTER,

"By a concourse of unfortunate circumstances, added to grave errors, the department of the Var has, in eight days, become an open frontier, seriously threatened by a superior enemy. To-morrow, or even this night, it may be the scene of an invasion followed by fire and devastation.

"Lines rendered formidable by their position have been abandoned, and the town of Nice was this morning evacuated. Eighteen thousand Austrians line the left bank of the Var, and there only remains between them and us a torrent, the passage of which is defended by four or five thousand men—of troops discouraged, and commanded by generals who do not agree together.

"On the first intimation of this retrograde movement, I proceeded to the line of the Var.

I sought in vain for an army; instead of one, I only saw soldiers dispersed and wounded, abandoned on the roads, and sighing after hospitals which do not exist. The retreat of every branch of the army is directed towards the interior, and is pushed on as far as Marseilles. A host of *employés* of every description is flying, accompanied by covered waggons, the excessive load of which excites strong suspicions against the persons on whose account they journey.

"In the midst of this confusion, of which it is impossible to form an idea, I have not lost courage, and have endeavoured to form an army, by marching on the Var all the moveable columns of the department, with supplies for five days. At my voice the peasantry have left their fields, and unyoked their ploughs; and twelve hundred horses or mules perform the service of military transports.

"This measure will deceive and awe the enemy for a few days; but he has secret communications with the interior, and will soon penetrate the secret of our weakness. It is, therefore, urgent to provide for the defence of this frontier, and to have recourse to regular and adequate means.

"I have seen at Antibes, General Oudinot, and have thought that I might—nay, that I ought, to ask him what were his means of defence; what line he thought of occupying; on what points he wished the levies of citizens to be directed; and lastly, what description of assistance he stood in need of, and to what amount. I have offered to place myself at the head of my department, on the points the most exposed and threatened. I am still waiting for his answer.

"Obliged by his delay to take upon myself the duty of this General towards you, I think it right to inform you that the moveable columns are marching; that they hasten from every point to the head-quarters at Antibes; and that success has crowned this first measure. At the same time, however, you will permit me to lay before you the following considerations. —I think

"1st. That no reliance ought to be placed on Antibes, on account of its unfavourable situation in a country covered and commanded by heights. If it is attacked with artillery, it will not hold out eight days; if it is merely blockaded, it will be equally compelled to surrender, since it is unprovisioned.

"2dly. That reliance cannot be placed on the moveable columns. The time of the harvest,

which is drawing near, will recall the husbandmen, who form the greatest proportion of these columns, to their fields, and it will be impossible to check desertion.

" 3dly. That advantage must, therefore, be taken without loss of time, of the effect the imposing appearance of this levy will produce on the enemy, to assemble troops of the line, and to give them, above all, an intelligent commander, and one whose reputation may put an end to all private rivalry.

" 4thly. That, with a reinforcement of six thousand men of good troops, and by mustering the moveable columns of the department of the *Bouches du Rhône*, the department may be covered by fortifying the line of the Esteron, and the post of *Gillette*. The enemy will not dare to penetrate into the interior without possessing that post. The country is too much intersected by mountains to allow the Austrians to engage in it, unless they are masters of the upper department, through which alone they could effect a retreat.

" 5thly. That no apprehensions need be entertained with respect to the means of subsistence; but that it is absolutely necessary to supply the means of transport, which the department of the Var could not do.

"I feel that I am, perhaps, entering too much into details to which I might be expected to be a stranger; but the communication is confidential, the information true and impartial; and it is essential that you should not be deceived by reports resting on slight foundation, or framed with interested views.

"Watch over Toulon: that important place is also destitute of provisions, and inadequately provided with arms. We may still be saved by the methodical sloth of the Austrians; but the least delay, on our part, might be the cause of great evils, and considerable losses to the Republic.

"Respectfully yours,

"FAUCHET."

22d.—The Emperor much better. His strength and appetite had returned, and he had been four hours seriously engaged at work. He had kept the Grand Marshal and his family to dinner, and was pleased and happy. His sufferings had slumbered during a whole day—they might never wake again: he was full of hope. "When my health is once re-esta-
"blished, I shall restore you to your studies.

"You shall proceed to Europe and publish your "works; I will not suffer you to waste your "existence on this horrible rock. You have "told me, if I recollect rightly, that you do not "know France: you will then see that coun- "try; you will see those canals, those monu- "ments, with which I covered it during the "time of my power. The duration of that "power has been like that of a flash of light- "ning! But no matter, it is filled with useful "institutions."— "Immortal, Sire!—Cherburg, Turin, Antwerp!" .... — "I have done bet- "ter than all that."—"What, then, Sire? What prodigy?" — I waited for his answer. "Yes, Doctor, I have done better; I have hal- "lowed the Revolution, by infusing it into our "laws. My code is the sheet-anchor which "will save France, and entitle me to the bene- "dictions of posterity; besides that, there are, as "you were saying, establishments, foundations "—Flushing, Corfu, Ostend!" .. —"The Alps levelled!" — "The plan of that undertaking "is one of the first, formed at the commence- "ment of my career. I had entered Italy, and "finding that the communications with Paris "occupied a considerable time, and were at- "tended with much difficulty, I endeavoured

" to render them quicker, and resolved to open " them through the valley of the Rhône. I " also wished to render that river navigable, " and blow up the rock under which it engulphs " and disappears. I had sent engineers on the " spot: the expense would have been inconsi- " derable, and I submitted the plan to the Di- " rectory; but we were carried away by events: " I went to Egypt, and nobody thought any " more about it. On my return, I took it up " again; I had dismissed the lawyers, and having " no more obstacles in my way, we applied our " hammers to the Alps; we executed what the " Romans had not dared to try, and traced, " through blocks of granite, a solid and spacious " road, capable of resisting the efforts of time." —" But not those of Piedmontese industry."— " How so? Do the Piedmontese spoil that " road?"—" I have heard so."—" Ah, that is " not right! I was entitled to a little more re- " spect from the House of Savoy." Napoleon then entered into numerous details respecting the armistice of Cherasco, the democratic fervour of the Directory, and its repugnance for peace, when he insisted on the ratification of the treaty.—" 'What! with a despot!' was the reply. " —'His resources are still immense.'—'We will

" stir up popular commotions against him,—we " will excite the valleys to revolt.'—' But his " troops!'—' They must be seduced.'—In fact " there was no kind of trick and chicanery to " which Talleyrand did not resort in order to " avoid signing the treaty, as the following " letter will exemplify :—

" 30th Fructidor, Vth Year
of the Republic.

" TO GENERAL BONAPARTE.

" I add to my despatches of this day some explanations upon objects which have not seemed to me of a nature to appear amongst the official documents; but concerning which it is nevertheless proper you should receive some information.

" The Directory refuses to sign the treaty with the King of Sardinia. There would be a kind of inconsistency in our binding ourselves by solemn treaties with a monarchy, the speedy destruction of which might be the result of our operations in Italy: we should be accused of the same kind of Machiavelism with which the King of Prussia behaved in Poland. Besides, the article of the treaty upon which the King of Sardinia lays the greatest stress, is that by

which the security of his kingdom is guaranteed, and we cannot give to kings a guarantee against the people: such an engagement would lead us to wage war against the same principles for which we have hitherto fought, and to which we owe the greatest part of our victories. The fate of Piedmont, situated as it is between France and Italy (both free), will become what it may: all we can do in that country is to let things follow their natural course.

"You therefore cannot have the ten thousand Piedmontese that had been promised to you; but there is nothing to prevent you from having as many soldiers from this country as you wish. There is no want here of men willing to fight for liberty, and under your orders: all Revolutionists will immediately come forward; it will be sufficient for you to induce the Cisalpine Republic to enlist, pay, and equip them. You will thus have the little army which the King of Sardinia was to furnish; and we shall have no obligation to a prince of the House of Bourbon. It is very probable that the Court of Turin will not oppose the raising of these levies, and that it will perhaps be very glad to be rid of some individuals who give her cause for uneasiness; and this measure, useful to us, will

thus retard the explosion there: the only difficulty consists in paying them. I am aware that the Cisalpine Republic already pays a great deal; but it is only money, and France has paid a much dearer price for her liberty. It is, besides, greatly for her interest that this measure should take place; and if the campaign opens again, it will be more on her account than on ours.

"With respect to Mr. Thugut, who is the sovereign of Vienna, and who preaches the continuation of war, against the opinion of the Emperor and the wishes of the people; he is a man whom we ought to have undermined before this time. He has always demanded and obtained money for leading his masters into most detestable affairs. You will find in the instructions given to Clarke, some information respecting an old piece of treachery, which has already been communicated to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. You may cause some allusion to be made to this circumstance in the newspapers of Italy, which are most read at Vienna, and in such a way as to make him fear that more might be said; and if afterwards war does take place, the traitor must be totally unmasked, and the official documents published, in order that

it may be known at Vienna and all over Europe, that he has formerly received, and still receives money, and that he is the sole cause of a war, which he only prolongs to favour England and increase the treasure with which she supplies him. If any thing then excites surprise, it will be our having so long delayed the publication of such facts, and at last they must come to the knowledge of the Emperor.

"On our side we shall labour to turn in our favour the opinion of Europe, which is in great part already for us; this is an expedient, or rather a weapon, which we must not neglect. We intend to circulate documents that will clearly make it appear that the Courts of Vienna and London were quite agreed with the faction which has just been upset in France, and will show how far the negotiations of the two Courts and the movements of the interior proceeded simultaneously. The common and evident object of the members of Clichy, and of the Cabinet of the Emperor, was, the re-establishment of a King in France, and a degrading peace by which Italy was to be restored to her former masters!

"Should they talk to you about equilibrium and the balance of Europe, how much will you not have it in your power to say respecting Po-

land, which has so materially increased the power of Austria; and respecting which the Directory has condescended to forbear pronouncing during the course of the negotiation, though continually prompted to do so by the interest which they take in the fate of the Poles and of their country!

"If you find that the negotiation cannot be brought to a favourable issue, you will then prosecute the plan for the expulsion of the House of Austria; and in that case you will feel that the neutrality of Tuscany must not be regarded.

"CH. M. TALLEYRAND."

24th.—The Emperor had continued well during the remainder of yesterday: he had passed the greatest part of the night reading newspapers, and was engaged in the same occupation when I saw him this morning at ten o'clock.

At two o'clock P. M. he took a bath, in which he remained half an hour. His strength increased, and the state of costiveness diminished; but he complained of an acute pain in the right hypochondriac region, which extended as far as the breast on the same side.

25th.—The Emperor, after having expe-

rienced a violent pain in the frontal region, was seized with a kind of drowsiness. He took a foot-bath into which some mustard-seeds were thrown, and found relief from it. He complained of the miserable state of his health. " Can any thing " be more deplorable than my present condi- " tion? This is not life, it is mere existence " ..... my health will never be restored ..... even " my present situation must be precarious, and " perhaps death will soon terminate my suffer- " ings." He recommended to me the autopsy of his corpse.—" We are not come to that, Sire," answered I; " if your Majesty will only condescend to follow the treatment I have pre- scribed ..... you are not near the term of your career."—" I should wish to believe you, Doc- " tor, but the blisters dry very quickly." " They will soon resume energy, if your Ma- jesty will ....."—" Medicines again! You are " a Doctor, and would promise life to a corpse " if it could take pills; But I do not deceive " myself; I feel that I am near my end. All " the powers of the vital functions are concen- " trated on the spot which the cantharides have " excited: you will keep them on a week or " ten days longer, when you will have obtained " all the effect that can possibly be expected

"from them."—"In that case, Sire, we might try an issue."—"No: Corvisart had opened "one, but it is too troublesome and inconve- "nient; I will not have any."

26th.—Napoleon worse than yesterday.—General atony—icy coldness of the extremities, in spite of every means I could devise to restore warmth to them—excessive paleness. At three o'clock the Emperor went to the Grand Marshal's, where he remained till six. During that interval he was seized with a shivering in all his frame, accompanied by excessive thirst. He drank lemonade, and caused a large fire to be lighted, near which he endeavoured to warm himself. His strength was entirely exhausted. "In what a state am I, Doctor! every thing "seems to weigh upon me, to fatigue me; I "can scarcely support myself. You have not, "amongst the resources of your art, any means "of reviving the play of the machine?" He accompanied this with a gesture, indicating the whole frame. I told him that medicine possessed many such means.—"Prompt and efficacious?" —"Sire, time....." —"Ah! yes; time! You "beguile pain, and death puts an end to it."

27th and 28th.—Same state.—Pulse weak and agitated.—No improvement.

29th.—The state of weakness had increased. Deep pain in the right hypochondriac region—abundant evacuations of ill-digested matters.—These evacuations had already lasted some days. I endeavoured to obviate the serious consequences to which a continuation of such a state might lead, and insisted upon the necessity of a medical treatment. I dropped a few observations upon the alteration which had taken place in the functions of the stomach, as well as the liver; the Emperor hastily took them up: "What are you saying about the "stomach? Know, Sir, that mine is sound; and "that I have never, in any place, or under any "circumstances, suffered the slightest pain from "it. Therefore no more on that subject: do you "hear?"

30th.—The Emperor very pale, and complaining of his extreme weakness. He had a violent head-ach, and felt an annoying pain along the third part of the lower extremity of the right leg, in the right hypochondriac region, and in the epigastric region. During the night, evacuation of bilious matters. He refused to take any medicine.

31st.—Napoleon worse than yesterday. He had passed a very restless night, and had had successively eight evacuations of liquid matters,

and undigested substances. The pain in the head and in the right hypochondriac region was still as violent — pulse low and agitated. During the day, three evacuations similar to those of the night. The patient was lying on a sofa, under several coverings, though the thermometer of Fahrenheit was at sixty-five to sixty-six degrees. The lower extremities almost constantly cold. He persisted in refusing to take any medicines: I prescribed a strict diet, rice-water, and some enemas. Towards the evening, pulse more regular, but weak, and Napoleon felt rather better. He complained that the skin upon which the blisters had been applied was still red, and occasioned a sensation of excessive irritation.

November 1st.—The Emperor had passed a tolerable night, and had only had one evacuation, of the same nature as the preceding.—Pulse irregular and nervous; pain in the head, rather violent; digestion very laborious, though the patient had taken but very little food; the stomach painfully distended by the presence of gas, which occasioned frequent insipid ructations. *The pain in the liver had increased:* a dry and almost continual cough, caused by the state of the stomach, produced vomiting of aqueous matters. The icy coldness of the extremities

caused a spasmodic contraction of the cerebral nerves. Towards evening all these symptoms disappeared, and the patient was evidently better.

2d.—After a short slumber, the Emperor was awakened at four A. M. by a dry and nervous cough, accompanied by insipid ructations and vomitings of aqueous matters. Anodyne potions allayed the irritation of these symptoms towards the break of day. At nine the Emperor was calm and weak, and took some light food. At three P. M. the fits of coughing returned, accompanied by frequent ructations of an insipid nature, vomiting of aqueous matters, and painful distension of the stomach. *Pain in the head and the liver*—icy coldness of the lower extremities.—Application of warm towels on the legs, friction on the abdomen, with a liniment of ammoniac and opium—calming draught. Towards evening all these alarming symptoms subsided.

3d.—The Emperor had passed a tolerably good night; and there was an evident improvement in the patient's health. The prostration of strength, however, still continued. At twelve o'clock Napoleon felt a violent pain in the head, coldness, and spasmodic contractions at the lower extremities. He recovered his appetite a little.

I proposed tepid baths of sea-water. — Continued coldness of the extremities.—Application of warm towels.

4th.—Napoleon rather better. — Return of appetite—pulse low and regular.—Tepid bath, composed of two-thirds of sea-water and one-third of soft water, in which the patient remained thirty-five minutes.

5th.—Continued improvement in the Emperor's health. He took another bath of salt-water, in which he remained about three quarters of an hour. His sufferings had ceased awhile, and he began to talk and converse; passing in review, amongst other topics, the works he had executed and the men he had protected in Italy. He had made roads from Pavia to Padua, from Padua to Fusine and Ponte Longo, from Sarravalle to Belluno and Cadore, and from Vicenza to Novarra. He had dug the port of Malomocco, drained the valleys which terminate at Verona, thrown bridges over the Adige, restrained the inundations of the Bacchiglione, raised dykes, re-constructed canals and aqueducts — and yet this was only the beginning of what he had planned for Italy. From the things he had done, the Emperor passed to the men he had known, and spoke at some length of Cesarotti, the pomp and harmony of whose poetry

he liked. He had assisted him, and loaded him with favours; but hatred followed the abuse of victory: we became odious—we were beaten; the poet yielded to the general feeling of exasperation, and applauded our reverses. This error did not, however, deprive him of Napoleon's benevolence; for one of the first things the Emperor did, after the incorporation of Venice, was to recommend Cesarotti to Prince Eugene.

"My son," wrote he to him, "when I commanded as General-in-chief in the Venetian States, before the treaty of Campo-Formio, the Abbé Cesarotti was presented to me at Padua. He was a man of merit, but poor; I received him in a distinguished manner, and gave him a pension from the funds of the town, which was paid to him as long as the country remained under my dependence. The Austrians, who succeeded me, will, however, certainly not have continued the pension to him: learn, therefore, what is become of him; and if you find him out, let the pension be again paid to him, with the arrears."

6th.—The Emperor's health continued to improve.—Third bath of salt-water, in which Napoleon remained an hour, and then went into the garden. He was weak, and could

hardly support himself. He sat down near the pond, which was the usual object and limit of his walks. He would remain there for hours together, amusing himself by following the motion of the fishes, throwing bread to them, studying their manners, taking an interest in their loves and their quarrels, and endeavouring with real anxiety to find out the relations that exist between us and them. He pointed them out to our observation, enumerated them to us, and often sent for us to communicate his remarks. Unfortunately these little creatures were attacked with vertigoes; they struggled, floated on the water, and perished one after the other. Napoleon was deeply affected by this circumstance.—"You see very well," said he, "that "there is a fatality attached to me. Every "thing I love, every thing that belongs to me, "is immediately struck: heaven and mankind "unite to persecute me."

From that moment, neither weather nor sickness could prevent him from going daily to visit them himself; and he told me to see whether there were no means of assisting and saving them! I could not conceive whence proceeded this singular mortality, and examined whether it was caused by the water; but the examination was too slow for the Emperor's im-

patience, and he sent for me several times every day, and despatched me to ascertain whether others had perished. I went, and must confess that I experienced a lively satisfaction when I was enabled to inform him that they were all alive. At last I discovered the cause of this accident which grieved Napoleon so much: we had cemented the bottom of the basin with a mastich containing a great proportion of copper, which had poisoned the water and destroyed the fishes. We took out those that were still alive, and put them into a tub.

7th.—Same state as yesterday.—Fourth bath of salt-water.—The Emperor rode out in the park.

8th.—The Emperor continued better.—Fifth bath of salt-water.—Ride in the park in calash.

9th and 10th.—Napoleon was tolerably well on the preceding day; but he had passed the night reading newspapers, and was extremely weak and languid. + Bath of salt-water, in which he remained half an hour.

11th and 12th.—The state of the patient's health, which on the preceding day had been very unfavourable, had now become still worse. He was melancholy and oppressed, and experienced a great prostration of strength, disgust,

a sensation of heaviness, and flatulencies in the abdomen. *The pain in the liver* recommenced with renewed violence, and extended towards the epigastric region. To these symptoms were superadded a rather acute pain along the spine and in the left shoulder, a stubborn state of costiveness, and a pulse low and nervous.—Bath of salt-water of three quarters of an hour—enema—frictions on the spine and the left shoulder, with a liniment composed of ammoniac; which produced an excellent result.

13th.—The state of the Emperor's strength was not much more favourable than yesterday. He felt an unconquerable drowsiness, but his pulse was regular. He took a little food, and at two P. M. his usual bath of salt-water.—Continuation of the frictions on the spine and the left shoulder.

14th.—After the bath of salt-water the Emperor felt stronger and in better spirits, and ate with tolerable appetite.—Frictions, with the usual liniment.

Napoleon again took up the subject of Italy, and spoke at length of Oriani. "He is the "greatest geometrician that ever existed!" Napoleon had treated him with great dis-

tinction, protected him, and recommended him to Brune when he went out on his expedition to Egypt. He had taken pleasure in testifying publicly the respect he entertained for his learning, by writing to him immediately after he had entered Milan; thus honouring in his person all those who cultivate sciences in Italy:—

"Head-quarters of Milan, 5th Prairial, IVth Year of the Republic (24th May, 1796.)

"BONAPARTE, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF ITALY, TO THE CITIZEN ORIANI, ASTRONOMER.

"Sciences which honour the human mind, arts which embellish life and transmit great actions to posterity, are entitled to special protection in republics. All men of genius, all those who have obtained a distinguished rank in the republic of letters, are Frenchmen, in whatever country they may be born.

"Learned men have not hitherto enjoyed in Milan the consideration due to them. Retired in their closets, they deemed themselves fortunate when kings and priests would condescend not to molest them. This is no longer the case; the mind has become free in Italy . . . . inquisitions, intolerance, and despots no longer

exist in that country. I invite the learned to unite together, and make known to me their views respecting the measures to be adopted, to give to science and to the fine arts fresh vigour and a new existence. All those who choose to go to France will receive a distinguished welcome from the Government. The French nation attaches a greater value to the acquisition of a learned mathematician, a painter of repute, or a man eminent in his profession, whatever it may be, than of the finest and most flourishing city.

"I therefore request, Citizen, that you will be the medium through which these sentiments are conveyed to the men distinguished for their learning in Milan."

Napoleon had preserved a most particular recollection of this celebrated man; he often spoke of him, and took pleasure in relating the details of the first audience he had given him. He described Oriani's timidity and embarrassment at the sight of the stately retinue of the staff, which quite dazzled him, and the trouble he had had to restore to him confidence and composure. "'You are here with your friends; "we honour learning, and only wish to shew the "respect we entertain for it.'—'Ah! General, "excuse me, but this pomp and splendour quite

"overpower me; I am not accustomed to witness "them." He, however, recovered his self-possession, and held with Napoleon a long conversation, which produced in his mind a feeling of surprise which he could not for a long time overcome. He was unable to conceive how it was possible to have acquired, at the age of twenty-six, so much glory and science; the General was to him an inexplicable phenomenon.

In praising the astronomer the Emperor mentioned the name of M——. "As for that man, Sire, all the indulgence of your Majesty...." "Yes, I know it; he was only faithful after a "victory. Berthier had often pointed him out "to me: but who would not have become re- "fractory with so weak a man as Berthier? "When I asked him whether he would be the "sport of a few busy intermeddling fellows, "and whether he was not General-in-chief, "'No!' he would answer; 'you know very "well that even here (at Genoa) I have not "ceased to be the chief of your staff.'"

15th.—The Emperor took his usual bath. Three enemas produced an excellent effect; but the patient complained of a sensation of heaviness in the abdomen, and the *pain proceeding from the liver* extended to both shoulders.

16th.—At eleven o'clock A. M. the Emperor went down into the garden. He was weak and unable to walk; I supported him: he reached a chair, and seeming to recover after a long and painful effort, "Well, Doctor, here am I then "at my last cast! No more energy or strength "left; I bend under the load." I was going to answer him, but he was before-hand with me. "I shall recover, of course? A doctor "would sooner die than not assure a man at "the last extremity that he is not ill."—"No, Sire; but when the principle of life is still entire....."—"It is no longer so; I am going, I "feel that my hour is come."—"Your Majesty has not yet reached the term of your existence, if you will only condescend to....."—"Do what? Take pills? or a decoction of "bark, like at Mantua?"—"No, Sire; much less like at Venice."—"How so, Venice! Your "corpses have then been constantly on the look-"out?* Probably they also told you the num-"ber of patients towards whom I had recourse "to coercive measures?"—"No, Sire; I only heard of lint, vinegar, and camphorated brandy, which the Venetian authorities were to supply, and the generals of division cause to be admi-

* See page 225.

nistered."—"It was necessary to provide for the moveable hospitals ....."—"And to cure the sick and wounded."—"What an obstinate man, "with his eternal medicines! Doctor, we will "think about it." He rose, and I supported him again back to the house.

He took a bath, in which he remained an hour. The atony became general; the pain in the liver was violent, and extended to the epigastric region. The stomach was distended by flatulencies, producing frequent insipid ructations. Pulse low and nervous.

17th.—Napoleon's health nearly in the same state. At ten o'clock he took a bath.

18th.—The Emperor was labouring under a deep depression of spirits and faculties. He experienced continual insipid eructations, and complained of acute pain in the epigastric region. An issue was opened on the left arm, the incision for which did not produce a single drop of blood. The salt-water baths suspended for the present.

19th.—The Emperor went to look at his fishes, took a turn in the garden, and afterwards went out in the calash; but he returned back before he had reached the park.

The bandages of the issue were deranged; I

replaced them. The patient ate with tolerable appetite; the functions of the stomach appeared less deranged.

The Emperor no longer had any strength or energy left: he was overpowered by the want of sleep, and experienced a degree of lassitude which he could not overcome. "Doctor, what a "delightful thing rest is! The bed is become for "me a place of luxury; I would not exchange "it for all the thrones in the world. What an "alteration! How fallen am I! I, whose ac- "tivity was boundless, whose mind never slum- "bered, am now plunged in a lethargic stupor, "and must make an effort even to raise my "eyelids! I sometimes dictated upon different "subjects to four or five secretaries, who wrote "as fast as words could be uttered: but then I "was Napoleon; now I am no longer any thing; "my strength, my faculties forsake me; I do "not live, I merely exist."

20th.—The Emperor was absorbed in pro- found melancholy, and did not pronounce a single word.

21st and 22d.—Napoleon appeared still la- bouring under the same depression of spirits. He ate very little, and consented to resume the salt-water baths.

23d, 24th, 25th, and 26th.—Same state as the preceding days.—Salt-water baths.

27th.—The Emperor was in a gloomy mood. I examined the issue, and found it in a state of putrefaction; I washed it, with wine mixed with tepid water.—Usual bath.

28th.—Napoleon was extremely dejected, and complained of a violent head-ach, and of a pain in the liver, accompanied by a sensation of heaviness *(douleur gravative au foie)*,—such were his expressions. He took some food, and found himself a little better. At three P. M. he ate with more than his usual appetite, and at four went out in the calash; but after having driven very slowly in the park for a short time, he was seized with violent nausea, and soon after vomited all the food he had taken.—State of stubborn costiveness.—Usual bath.—The patient took two tonic pills.

29th.—At seven in the morning the Emperor took two tonic pills. At three P. M. he was seized, immediately after his repast, with a dry cough extremely fatiguing. He attributed it to the use of the pills, and took advantage of that pretence to proscribe them entirely.—Continual state of somnolency.—The patient re-

mained late in bed, rose, and went out in the calash for an hour.—Usual bath.

30th.—The Emperor was in the same state as yesterday, with the exception of the cough which had ceased. He refused to take any remedy, even a bath. I attempted to combat his resolution. "What hopes can I entertain? "What beneficial effect can I expect from me- "dicines? Doctor! nothing useless should be "done."

Dec. 1st.—The Emperor was a little better: he rode out in the calash. I endeavoured to revive his recollections, by speaking to him of the effect produced by his return from Egypt. "It is true," said he, "that it was incalculable: "it restored confidence to the troops, and hope "to the generals, who, condemned, dismissed, "beaten, only aspired to avenge their defeats, "and to escape from the ignominious yoke of a "handful of lawyers who were hastening France "to her ruin. I appeared to them like the "Messiah; every one hailed my arrival with "blessings. But the man of all others to whom "it was most acceptable (because he lamented "most deeply the misfortunes of our country,) "was Championet: he immediately wrote to

" the Directory, and tendered his resignation. " Look for his letter." I did so, and read,—

" Head-quarters, Coni, 4th October, 1799.

" CHAMPIONET, GENERAL-IN-CHIEF, TO THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY.

" I have just heard in an authentic manner, Citizens Directors, of the safe arrival of General Bonaparte in France, and I have hastened to communicate this intelligence to the army of Italy, by an order of the day. It has diffused joy and hope in every heart, and I am certain that the army will again march from victory to victory, if it is again guided by that hero. His name carries terror in the ranks of the enemy, and doubles the courage of our soldiers. It is for him to raise up the prostrate tree of liberty on the spot where he himself planted it, and to make the tyrant of Austria tremble a second time upon his tottering throne. In requesting you, Citizens Directors, in the name of our country, of the army, and of the liberty of Italy, to entrust the command of the army to General Bonaparte, I beg you will accept my resignation. The burthen is too heavy for me; and I shall be sufficiently rewarded for all the efforts I have hitherto made to assure the

triumph of the republic, and the liberty of my countrymen, if I can again contribute to render our dear country free and happy.

"CHAMPIONET."

2d.—The Emperor was in a state of deep languor, and complained very much of the pain occasioned by the issue, which, however, presented a satisfactory appearance.

3d.—Napoleon evidently much better.

4th.—Same state.

5th and 6th.—The Emperor's health goes on improving.

7th.—He was well; and applied himself during two successive hours to serious occupations, without experiencing the least inconvenience. At nine o'clock, as the weather was fine, he expressed a wish to take an airing in the open calash; but having been too much exposed to the heat of the sun, he came back extremely tired, and with a violent head-ach. I advised a pediluvium. He then told me that he had been suffering for the last three days with a kind of strangury.—Tepid bath of half an hour's duration. Towards evening the patient experienced an acute pain in the head. He was in a state of profound melancholy, and almost continual

somnolency; Pulse weak and nervous—general sensation of ailing.

8th.—The Emperor was a little better; but he was still gloomy and restless. I endeavoured to divert his mind by recalling the recollection of men who had, I knew, been dear to him. I pronounced the name of Dessaix.—"Dessaix! "he was full of devotedness, generous, and tor- "mented by the passion of glory: his death "was one of the calamities that befel me." He stopped. I was at a loss how to renew the conversation. I hazarded a word respecting the victories which this general had gained in Egypt.—"He would have conquered any where. "He was skilful, vigilant, daring; little re- "garding fatigue, and death still less: he would "have gone to the end of the world in search "of victory. I had, besides, chosen for him "lieutenants worthy of him. Belliard was "equally qualified for the cabinet and the field: "he directed the irrigations, encouraged culti- "vation, and dispersed the Beys; he was agri- "culturist, governor, captain, and as much "dreaded by the Mamelukes as he was agree- "able to the Cheiks. He commanded the van- "guard of Alexandria at Cairo. He had the "option of all the privations to which we were

"exposed: but nature had gifted him with an
"undaunted courage; the desert did not alarm
"him. He restrained the troops which many
"others were exciting to rebellion, and ever
"remained devoted to the cause. I was aware
"of his capacity and of his fidelity, and wished
"to take him to Syria, but Dessaix remonstrated
"against my doing so; he was anxious to pre-
"serve Belliard, and I therefore did not re-
"move him. Brave Dessaix! he was much
"grieved at the faults committed by the Direc-
"tory, and at the great preparations they had
"made for offensive warfare. 'The intelligence
"of these reverses,' answered he to me, when I
"announced to him that war had again broken
"out in Europe, 'has not surprised me, but has
"been the subject of considerable affliction to
"me. It is easy to see that you are no longer
"in that Italy where you have had such bril-
"liant success: but you will return there; you
"will render the nation illustrious, whilst we
"are dragging on a miserable existence in the
"midst of the Arabs. Who will know the
"greatness of your ideas? Who will appre-
"ciate your generous intentions? That war
"of Germany is a horrible thing: I am quite
"enraged at not being there. Think of us, of

" our situation, our passion for glory; but first " of all save France."—I was not sorry to have " his approbation, and I set out: you know " the result."

15th.—The Emperor went out in the calash, but returned extremely tired, and suffering with nervous agitation. He could not enjoy a single moment of tranquillity; but after having taken a calming draught, he found himself better during the remainder of the day.

16th.—Napoleon had passed a night of excessive agitation, and was still labouring under extreme depression of spirits. At about three o'clock he took a tepid bath, in which he remained until four. He was weak and dejected: he attempted to walk about the drawing-room, but his legs bent under his weight, and he was obliged to sit down.—" They are exhausted," said he, with an expression of sorrow; " see," (he was feeling them) " there is nothing left; " mere skeletons." I endeavoured to persuade him that their emaciated state was a consequence of the disease, and did not prognosticate any thing as to the final result.—" No, Doctor; " every thing must have a term: I am fast ap- " proaching mine, and I do not regret it, for I " have, indeed, no reason to be attached to life."

17th.—The Emperor had again experienced violent agitations during the night, head-ach, and pain in the abdomen; gloomy and peevish mood. The state of languor less apparent than on the preceding days.

18th.—Alternations of improvement and relapse were continual until the 28th.

25th.—Extreme prostration of strength. The Emperor passed a bad night, and one of great agitation. He complained of an acute pain, which extended from the right hypochondriac to the epigastric region. The abdomen was hard and swelled, head heavy and painful, pulse low and nervous.

I had long begged of Napoleon to allow his teeth to be cleaned, and he at last agreed. They were so loaded with tartar, this substance had so insinuated itself between the teeth, the gums, and the sockets, that the former were almost entirely detached. The four inferior incisors were entirely isolated, and no longer held.

26th.—The Emperor had passed a better night; but he persisted in remaining two hours in the bath, and found himself rather incommoded from it. He perused with great avidity the newspapers which had arrived from Europe;

and in them he read the death of his sister, Princess Eliza. This intelligence threw him into a state of stupor. He was in his arm-chair, his head hanging down on his breast, motionless, like one a prey to violent grief: deep sighs escaped at intervals from his breast; he raised his eyes, cast them down again, fixing them alternately upon me and the ground, and looking fixedly at me without uttering a single word. At last he extended his arm towards me, and I felt his pulse. It was weak and irregular. I wished him to take a little orange-flower water, but he did not seem to have heard me. I entreated him to go out and breathe the open air in the garden.—"Do you "think," said he, in a low and altered tone of voice, "that it can relieve me from the state of "oppression under which I am labouring?"— "I do, Sire; and, at the same time, I again entreat your Majesty to use also the beverage I have proposed to you." He consented, and after having tasted it, a considerable quantity of gas escaped from his mouth; his sighs became less frequent and less deep, and he was seized with hiccups. I again presented the glass to him; he drank a second time, and felt relieved.—"You wish me to go into the garden;

"be it so." He rose with difficulty, and leaning on my arm, "I am very weak," said he; "my trembling legs can hardly support me."

The weather was beautiful. We went as far as the summer-house, and he attempted to walk a few paces; but his strength failed, and he was obliged to sit down upon a bench which was near us. "Ah! Doctor, how tired I am! "I must, however, own that the oppression is "considerably diminished. The orange-flower "water which you have given me has detached "that superabundance of gas which fatigued "me, and I feel that the pure air I breathe does "me good. I had never, to this day, experi-"enced any pain in the stomach or the bowels, "and I did not know that air could lodge "there in such considerable quantity. It is "true, that having never been ill, and never "having taken any medicines, I am not likely "to know much of these matters, and the state "I am now in appears to me so extraordinary, "that I can hardly conceive it." He was silent for a few minutes, and then resumed: "The "papers announce that Princess Eliza died of "a nervous fever, and that she has appointed "Jerome guardian of her children. What do "physicians understand by nervous fever?" I

told him.—"Did you know Princess Eliza when "she was Grand Duchess of Tuscany?"—"Yes, Sire."—"She had become extremely delicate, and "assured me that, if she had given way to her "ailings, she would have been constantly confined "to her bed; and that it was only her great ac- "tivity that had upheld her and kept her alive. "For my part, I am of her opinion, and think "that a life of activity is always favourable to "health in men as well as animals. I have tried "the experiment upon my own self, and you may "now observe the consequences of a contrary "regimen. Eliza, from her infancy, was proud "and independent; she was a match for every "one of us. She was endowed with abilities, and "a prodigious degree of activity, and knew the "affairs of her cabinet and states as well as the "most skilful diplomatist might have done. She "conducted the department for foreign affairs; "and, although she felt a reluctance in being "obliged to apply to my ministers, she corre- "sponded directly with them, and resisted them "often, and sometimes even obliged me to in- "terfere in the discussions. Being, however, "lively, and of acute feelings, she was easily "moved; the least obstacle or opposition was "sufficient to excite her anger: but that anger

" was almost immediately dispelled; for Eliza's
" heart was excellent, generous, and elevated.
" She was fond of luxury, cultivated sciences
" and arts, and had the ambition to exercise
" a kind of superiority over her sisters. She
" wished to be above them in authority, as she
" was in age. I know not how far the news of
" her death must be credited, in the manner
" related in the papers; but what appears to
" me unfounded is, that she has appointed Je-
" rome guardian of her children. To render
" that admissible, it must be supposed that
" Baciocchi is either dead or absent, otherwise
" he is their guardian, by the right of law and
" nature. Have you known Prince Baciocchi?"—
" I have seen him sometimes, but have never
spoken to him."—"What was the opinion enter-
" tained of him at Florence?"—" He was looked
upon as a good kind of man, who did not apply
himself much to affairs, and only sought to enjoy
the advantages of his situation."—" That opi-
" nion was a correct one. He was always very
" fond of a retired life, and never liked to
" trouble himself about any thing but his own
" person. His peaceable disposition formed a sin-
" gular contrast with the active unquiet spirit
" of Princess Eliza. Do you know how many

" children she has left ?"—" She was delivered of a pretty little girl in Tuscany, and of a boy in the Venetian States. I do not know whether she has had any children since."

The Emperor rose, leant upon my arm, and looking steadfastly at me, said: " You see, Doc- " tor, Eliza has just shewn us the way. Death, " which seemed to have overlooked my family, " now begins to strike it: my turn cannot be " very far distant; what think you ?"—" Your Majesty is not yet near the term of your existence; you are still destined for some glorious enterprise."—" Ah ! Doctor, you are young, " full of health; but I ! I have no longer any " strength, activity, or energy left; I am no " longer Napoleon. You endeavour in vain to " revive hope—to recall life on the point of " escaping. Your care is without avail against " fate; its decrees are immutable; its decisions " without appeal. The first person of our family " who will follow Eliza to the grave, is that " great Napoleon, who here drags on a miserable existence, who sinks under its weight; " but who, however, still keeps Europe in a " state of alarm. It is thus, Doctor, that I con- " sider my present situation. Young as you " are, you have a long career before you; but

" for me, all is over; and I repeat that my " days will soon end on this miserable rock!"

We returned into the house, and Napoleon went to bed. " Let the windows be closed, " Doctor, and leave me: I will send for you " presently." He did send; and I found him greatly depressed in spirits: he was speaking of his son, and of Maria Louisa. Such a conversation was painful, and I endeavoured to give it another turn, and recall to his mind recollections which did not appeal painfully to his feelings. " I understand you, Doctor: well! " be it so; let us forget—if, indeed, the heart " of a father can forget."

27th.—The Emperor was labouring under a deep depression of spirits.

28th.—Same state as the preceding day. Head-ach — frequent and insipid ructations—nausea—dry and nervous cough. I ordered a calming draught.

29th.—The Emperor nearly in the same state; the cough had, however, in a measure subsided: the pulse was low and irregular.

30th.—Napoleon was much worse: he was seized with a general shivering, and experienced alternations of heat and cold. His pulse was weak and nervous, deglutition difficult—intole-

able head-ach.—" Well, Doctor, how do you " find me? What do you think of the state in " which I am?"—" That it is not alarming; that it is improving, and that your Majesty would be quite well if you would consent to take a medicine very simple in itself."—" What " is it?"—" Some syrup of ether."—" What is " syrup of ether?" I explained it to him. " What effect does it produce?" I told him. " You are quite sure of it?"—" Yes, Sire."—" Well, let me have some: make haste!" I gave him a spoonful of it; he took it, and found himself relieved, but the medicine left a taste in his mouth: that was quite enough, he would have no more of it.

31st.—The Emperor was rather better; but having remained two hours in a tepid bath, he was indisposed the remainder of the day, and all the morbific symptoms of the preceding day reappeared. I entreated Napoleon to take another dose of syrup of ether, but he refused: I insisted—he grew impatient, and told me it was labour lost. " But, Sire, the effects are so evident."—" Evident indeed! I did not close " my eyes a single moment:' I never passed so " bad a night."—" The action of this medicine " is so mild."—" It may be, for stomachs accus-

"tomed to physic; but mine is yet undefiled,
"and a stranger to medicines: the mere
"effluvia arising from your drugs is sufficient
"to contract it. Apply on the exterior every
"remedy you think proper, I have no objec-
"tion; but to introduce into my body a mass
"of preparations and ingredients capable of
"destroying the strongest constitution, is what
"I never will consent to: I will not have two
"diseases; one given by nature, and the other
"by the physician."

January 1st, 1821.

The health of the Emperor did not present any apparent improvement.

2d.—I saw Napoleon at eight o'clock A. M., and found him a little better. He was in bed; and, wishing to give a little air to the room, I opened the window, in doing which it slipped from my hand; I sought to seize it, wounded myself, and the blood began to flow. The Emperor saw it, and jumped out of bed. "Doctor, you have cut your hand! Quick! a "physician! Run for the English surgeons! "Wounds are dangerous in this climate; you "know that the least delay may be mortal. "Hasten, some of you, to the camp."

The wound was indeed serious enough: the tendons extensors of the three last fingers were almost severed; but I felt so affected and confused on seeing the anxiety manifested by Napoleon, that I thought much more of quieting his apprehensions than of dressing my own wound: this I, however, did. I had to suffer fever, and a general sensation of indisposition; and after three or four days' confinement found myself again able to attend the Emperor, who had been unremitting in demonstrations of interest and solicitude.

5th.—The Emperor had been for the last three days in the same situation, neither better nor worse. He took two pills, each composed of three grains of watery extract of bark and a quarter of a grain of opium of Beaumé.

6th.—The pulse was more favourable, and the Emperor found himself better and ate with appetite. State of extreme costiveness, which three enemas were insufficient to remove.

7th.—The patient passed a tolerable night: at daybreak took an enema, which afforded relief. Pulse low and nervous—heaviness in the abdomen—general agitation. I prescribed four tonic pills; two at night and two in the morning.

8th.—The Emperor took the tonic pills, but his health did not improve.

9th.—Same state as yesterday. The Emperor only took two tonic pills.

10th.—I presented the pills to the Emperor, but he refused to take them any more. "The "effect they produce is so evident," said he, "that it is not worth while to continue them: "put them by; I have a superabundance of "health since I have taken them. If I must "die, I wish to die of disease." I was going to answer, but he resumed. "I know you will "tell me that time is necessary, and it is always "safe to appeal to time. But were tonic pills "known to Hippocrates or Galen? Had they "tried their marvellous virtues? Ah! Doctor, "life is a mystery, which you vainly endeavour "to penetrate! you see no more in it than "they did; and they saw no more than you "do. Let us cease to grope our way blindfold, "and trust to nature; that is much better."

14th.—The Emperor was better; he ate with appetite, and rode out in the calash in the park.

22d.—Napoleon's health had evidently improved since the 14th; his strength and appetite returned, and he continued to take exercise in the garden and the park. I often

attempted to induce him to take some medicines to complete his cure; but I never could succeed. "The devil take your medicines," said he at last; "I have already told you a hundred times "that they would not do for me. I know my "disease and my constitution better than you "and all the physicians in the world. If I "can perspire, and the wounds in my thigh "open anew, I am cured. Yes, Doctor, give "me strength to go three or four leagues on "horseback without stopping, and to continue "the same exercise during fifteen or twenty "successive days, and you will see what health "I shall enjoy. Suppose that instead of being "Napoleon, I was one of the poor devils of this "island, and that by dint of thrashing and horse-"whipping about the legs I was forced to run "about and work like them, should I not be "soon well again? Should I not perspire con-"siderably? Would not the equilibrium be "soon restored? Should I not recover my "health?" The more he spoke, the more he exalted his idea of the extraordinary power of the human will. "You seem not to believe me, "Doctor; but tell me, if I were at this moment "in presence of a lion, a tiger, or a bear, and I "had no other means of escape than flight, do

" you think that my strength would not sudden-
" ly return; that my legs would not obey the
" impulse of my will, and that my nerves would
" not answer the appeal of nature, to save me
" from danger? At this very moment, whilst
" I am speaking to you, I feel in me something
" that electrifies me, and induces me to believe
" that the machine would still act in obedience
" to my sensations and to my will; and is that
" not a stimulus fully equal to the fear of horse-
" whipping? Well! what do you think about
" it now, *Dottoraccio di Capo Corso?*" continued he, pulling my ears. " Come, am I not right?" I replied, that his remedies might be excellent, but that they were capable of killing the strongest men, and that as they were not to be found in the Pharmacopœia I could not recommend them to him. The Emperor laughed, and then began to argue respecting his disease, and the treatment proper to be used for it. " I am
" certain," said he, " that to commit an excess
" would restore the equilibrium in my frame.
" My curative system has never been to take
" medicines, but to observe diet during one or
" two days, or to commit some excess in op-
" position with my usual habits. Thus, for
" instance, if I had been too long resting, I

" took a long ride on horseback, or hunted for " a whole day without stopping. If I had been " undergoing too much fatigue, I remained quiet " during twenty-four hours or longer; and I " assure you that my method has never failed, " and that the shock always produced a favour- " able result. It is true also that a constitution " like mine is seldom to be met with. When I " wished to sleep, I slept, be the place or the " hour what they might; when I happened to " drink or to eat too much, my stomach rejected " the superfluous portion; in a word, my nature " was not like that of all men. All that is " now gone; I feel it; but am not yet without " resource." Then after a pause he exclaimed, " Will you not say at last, *Dottoraccio Maledetto*, " that I am right? Is my medicine not pre- " ferable to yours?" I replied that undoubtedly his system was good, since he had in its favour a constantly successful experience, but that in his present situation the case might be very different: His Majesty was now really ill, and his disease required the use of internal remedies to cure it and re-establish his health: that he ought to lead a quiet life, take moderate exercise, and in proportion to his strength, and that any excess could only be productive of fatal consequences. " We have it now," said he laugh-

ing; "these devils of physicians are all alike; "when they wish to bring their patient to do a "thing, they deceive him and frighten him. Is "it not so, *Dottoraccio?*" (slightly striking me with his hand.) "Well, then, we will obey the "orders of medicine."

He was, however, so fully convinced of the excellency of his system, and so full of confidence in the favourable results that would follow a violent and sudden alteration in his way of living, that he resolved to try the experiment. He therefore ordered his horse to be saddled, galloped about the old limits of Longwood, and rode no less than five or six miles. He was followed only by his *chasseur* Noverraz, and his *piqueur*. But this violent exercise did not produce the effect he had anticipated; no perspiration took place, and he even found himself much indisposed. He repeated the attempt three or four times, and with as little success: in fact, he was rather worse than better. "I now see," said he, with a tone of affliction, "that my strength "forsakes me; Nature no longer answers as "formerly to the appeals of my will; violent "shocks are no longer suited to my debilitated "frame: but I shall attain the end I propose "by moderate exercise."

23d.—The Emperor was labouring under a profound depression of spirits; he still felt persuaded that exercise would save him, and lamented his situation, which did not allow him to take any. "If, at least, I could bear the "calash; but the jerks give me nausea, and the "motion of riding on horseback is worse still."—"Sire," said General Montholon, "perhaps the see-saw would do you good, if your Majesty were to try?"—"True! the see-saw, perhaps; "I will try: have one arranged." This was immediately done; but this motion produced no favourable effect, and he soon gave it up.

24th.—Napoleon was still very much dejected: he spoke of his health; complained of weakness and nervous irritation. I asked him to allow me to feel his pulse, and he extended his arm with indifference, saying, "A general "might as well *listen*, in order to ascertain how "his army is manœuvring." When I had done he withdrew his arm. "Well, what does the "pulse indicate?"—"That your strength is returning, and that your Majesty is going to be better."—"Of course! I feel a repugnance for "every thing; every thing inspires me with "disgust; my stomach cannot bear the lightest "solid substance; but still I am going to be

" better! Doctor, do not attempt to deceive " me; I can die!"

25th.—The Emperor was plunged in the deepest melancholy. He experienced nervous agitations, was weak, and felt himself *ill, very ill.*

26th.—Napoleon was much better, and his spirits were consequently much less depressed. He only complained of slight attacks of colic, which were soon dispelled.

He had heard, a few days before, the details of the Spanish revolution. That event did not appear to surprise him much; he had foreseen it, and merely said to us, " Ferdinand is a man " incapable of governing himself, and, *à fortiori,* " the Peninsula. With respect to the Constitu- " tion of the Cortes, it is in opposition with the " dogmas of the Holy Alliance; it strikes at " the foundation of the prejudices and interests " of devotees, and cannot therefore last long. " Those who have promulgated it have nei- " ther the strength nor the means necessary to " maintain it."

The intelligence of the events at Naples produced a greater effect, and put him in good spirits. " As for that revolution," said he, " I " must confess I did not expect it. Who would " ever have supposed that a set of *Maccheronai*

"; would ape the Spaniards, proclaim their prin-
" ciples, and rival them in courage?" Then, quitting the tone of pleasantry, " No doubt," said he to us, " that of the two Ferdi-
" nands one is not better than the other; but
" the question does not turn upon them—it is
" upon their respective nations; and between
" these there is so great a difference in point of
" energy and elevation of sentiments, that either
" the Neapolitans are mad, or this movement of
" theirs is the forerunner of a general insurrec-
" tion: for, in presence as they are of the rulers
" of Italy, what can they do if they are not
" supported by some great nation? If they are,
" I applaud their patriotism; but if it be other-
" wise, how much I pity my good and dear
" Italians! They will be immolated, and the
" sacrifice of their generous blood will not
" benefit the beautiful soil which gave them
" birth; I pity them! Unfortunate people! they
" are distributed in groups, divided, separated
" among a parcel of princes who only serve to
" excite aversions, to dissolve the ties which
" unite them, and to prevent them from agreeing
" together, and co-operating with each other for
" the attainment of their common liberty. It
" was that *tribe-like* spirit I was endeavouring

" to destroy; it was with a view to gain this
" object that I annexed part of Italy to France,
" and formed a kingdom of the other part. I
" wished to eradicate local habits, partial and
" narrow views, to model the inhabitants after
" our manners, to accustom them to our laws;
" then to unite them together, and restore them
" to the ancient glory of Italy. I proposed to
" make of all these States, thus agglomerated, a
" compact and independent power, over which
" my second son would have reigned, and of
" which Rome, restored and embellished, would
" have been the capital. I should have removed
" Murat from Naples; and from the sea to the
" Alps only one sway would have been acknow-
" ledged. I had already begun the execution
" of that plan, which I had formed with a view
" to the interest of Italy; workmen were al-
" ready engaged in clearing Rome of its ruins,
" and in draining the Pontine Marshes: but
" war, the circumstances in which I was placed,
" and the sacrifices I was obliged to ask of the
" people, did not allow me to do for them what
" I wished. Such were, my dear Doctor, the
" motives which stopped me. I saw, in 1814,
" the fault, the great fault, I had committed;
" but the hour of reverses was come, and the

" evil was irreparable. Had I had time to
" carry my projects and intentions into effect, I
" should not have fallen; I should not have been
" exiled to the island of Elba, and still less
" thrown upon this rock. Ah! Doctor, what
" recollections, what epochs, that beautiful Italy
" recalls to my mind! Methinks the moment
" is only just gone by when I took the com-
" mand of the army that conquered it. I was
" young like you, I possessed your vivacity,
" your ardour, I felt the consciousness of my
" powers, and burned to enter the lists. I had
" already given proofs of what I could do: my
" aptitude was not contested, but my youth
" displeased those old soldiers who had grown
" grey on the field of battle. Perceiving this,
" I felt the necessity of compensating this dis-
" advantage by an austerity of principles from
" which I never departed. Brilliant actions
" were required to conciliate the affection and
" confidence of the military, and I performed
" some: we marched, and every thing vanished
" at our approach. My name was soon as dear
" to the people as to the soldiers; I could not
" be insensible to this unanimity of homage,
" and became indifferent to every thing that
" was not glory. The air resounded with ac-

" clamations on my passage; every thing was " at my disposal; all were at my feet: but I " only thought of my brave soldiers, of France, " and posterity! It was in vain that the " beautiful Italian ladies displayed all their at- " tractions; I remained unmoved by their se- " ductions. They consoled themselves with " my suite; and one of them, Countess C——, " left Louis, at our passage through Brescia, " a token of her favours which he will long " recollect."

Seven A. M.—The Emperor was in bed, alternately dosing and waking: he afterwards went out, took a ride in the calash for an hour, came in very tired, and fell asleep on his sofa.

At seven P. M. bilious evacuations, accompanied by slight pains of colic. Napoleon had scarcely taken any thing the whole day.—Pulse weak and nervous.

27th.—The Emperor had passed a very bad night.—Extreme weakness — pulse low and slightly nervous — dry cough — countenance gloomy.

I ventured to propose a prescription, but Napoleon grew impatient, and manifested the greatest aversion to every kind of medicine. At seven P. M. he was in bed; he had dined

at six, but his stomach rejected the food he had eaten, almost immediately after.

28th.—Extreme prostration of strength—eyes livid and nearly extinct—dry and nervous cough—mouth parched—distressing thirst—painful sensation in the stomach.

29th.—Same state.—Deep melancholy.

30th.—The Emperor's health was in a deplorable state; but his sufferings only tended to increase his aversion to all medicines. I endeavoured in vain to combat and overcome his repugnance: he resisted, promised, eluded; and at the very moment when I thought I had obtained what I wished, I found that I had not gained any thing. I was overwhelmed with the spectacle of this great man consuming before my eyes; grief at seeing the remedy at hand, and not being able to apply it, affection, regret—all these sentiments agitated my mind; my strength was exhausted. Napoleon perceived it, and said to me, "You are not well; "you are suffering; you are sinking under some "disease. Are you also doomed to fall a victim to this horrible climate? Courage! I "will send for a physician from Europe to "assist you." I was so overjoyed at this resolution, that I did not allow myself sufficient

leisure to weigh my answer. "Ah! Sire," replied I with emotion, "make haste, then, whilst it is yet time."—"Whilst it is yet time! What "do you mean? Is it you that are to die before "he arrives, or I? If such is my fate, be it so: "but in no case will I consult, or see, the English "physicians who are in the island: I would "rather suffer than see them round me. Be- "sides, of what use could they be to me? I have "placed my confidence in you—you take an "interest in me: I judge of your attachment by "your zeal, and am grateful for the care you "take of me; but, dear Doctor, if my hour is "come, if it is written above that I am to die, "neither you nor all the physicians in the "world can alter the decree." In saying these words his eyes were raised towards heaven, and the sound of his voice was elevated and sonorous: I could not master my emotion, and withdrew. I had a violent fever, and was for several days unable to attend him. At last, as he wished to see me, I made an effort and went to him. I found him in bed, complaining of an intolerable pain proceeding from the left hypochondriac region, and extending on one side up to the corresponding shoulder, and on the other to the lumbar region. He experienced great

difficulty in breathing, and the abdomen was considerably distended.—Ordered fomentations, an enema, and an anodyne draught; the latter produced frequent and insipid eructations.

Feb. 11th.—The Emperor had passed a good night, and at six in the morning took a rice-soup. The symptoms of the preceding day appeared again, and were again removed by the same means. In the afternoon I prescribed a bitter mixture.

12th.—Napoleon a little better this morning. He however rejected, at ten o'clock, the little food he had taken. He would hear no more of the bitter mixture.

13th.—The Emperor took a little cream and jelly. The vomiting ceased.—Spirits gloomy.

14th.—The illustrious patient was better than on the preceding day, and ate with tolerable appetite; his spirits were also considerably better.

15th.—Continued amendment. "Were you at Milan, Doctor," said he, "when I went to "take the iron crown?"—"No, Sire."—"And "when I went to Venice?"—"I was not there "either; but your Majesty had just planted our eagles on the banks of the Vistula; Italy was

intoxicated with glory; its whole population eagerly flocked around you."—"It is true that "I was enthusiastically received, particularly "in the Lagunes. Venice had put all her gon- "dolas out to sea; nothing was seen on all "sides but fringes, feathers, silks, &c.; all that "was handsome and elegant had assembled "from all parts at Fusine, and never had the "Adriatic witnessed so pompous a spectacle."—"That explosion of feeling was not to be wondered at; for with one hand you were driving the Sarmatians from a land which they had polluted, and with the other you were erecting monuments, making roads, and constructing or creating every where the most useful establishments. Besides, the march of your administration was so firm and so rapid!"—"You are "right: it was an immense machine, the wheels "of which were perfectly well adapted. I ex- "posed their action and its cause to the Legisla- "tive Body, and produced a great effect: Italy "approved of the principles I developed." I felt anxious to know what were the principles to which the Emperor was alluding; and having looked for, and found, the speech he pronounced on the occasion referred to, I read it:

"Gentlemen of the Legislative Body," said he, "I have taken a minute review of all the different branches of administration, and have introduced into them the same simplicity which, with the help of advice and censure, I have applied to the revision of the Constitution of Lyons. Whatever is good and grand is always the result of a system of simplicity and uniformity. I have suppressed the double organization of the departmental and prefectural administrations, because I have thought that, by entrusting the administrative duties to the prefects alone, not only a saving of one million would be effected in the expenses, but a greater rapidity would be obtained in the march of affairs. If I have placed near the prefects a council for the decision of litigious transactions, it is in conformity with the principle, that administration should be the act of one man, and the decision of litigations the act of many.

"The statutes which have just been read to you extend to my people of Italy the advantages of the operation of the Code, over the framing of which I myself presided. I have directed my Council to prepare an organization of the judicial department that may give to the tribunals the importance and consideration

I intend they shall possess. I could not approve that a pretor alone should have the power of pronouncing upon the fortunes of the community, and that judges concealed from the public view should secretly decide, not only upon their interests, but upon their lives. In the organization which will be presented to you, my Council will endeavour to bestow upon my people all the advantage resulting from collective tribunals, public proceedings, and the public defence of both parties. It is in order to secure to them an administration of justice more evidently enlightened, that I have decided that the judges who pronounce judgment shall be those who have also presided at the debates. I have not thought that the circumstances in which Italy is placed could allow me to think of the establishment of juries; but the judges are to pronounce, as juries would, upon their own conviction, and without adopting that system of semi-evidence which tends more frequently to endanger innocence than to lead to the discovery of the guilty. The surest rule to guide the judge who has presided at a trial is the conviction of his own conscience.

"I have superintended in person the establishment of regular and secure forms in the

finances of the state, and I hope my people will feel the advantage of the order which I have directed my minister of finances and of the public treasure to introduce into the accounts, which will be published. I have consented that the public debt should bear the name of *Mont-Napoleon*, in order to give an additional security to its engagements and a renewed vigour to credit.

"Public instruction will cease to be departmental; I have fixed certain bases, in order to give it the unity, uniformity, and direction, which must exercise so great an influence over the manners and habits of the rising generation.

"I have thought it advisable to begin from this year to introduce a greater degree of equality in the repartition of departmental expenditure, and to assist those of my departments, such as the departments of Mincio and Lower Po, who are suffering from the necessity of defending themselves against the devastations caused by the waters.

"The finances are in the most prosperous condition, and no arrears exist in any of the payments of the State. My people of Italy pay less taxes than any other; they will not be

called upon to bear any additional burthen in that respect: and if alterations have been effected in some of the contributions, if a duty for the registry of acts has been introduced in the project of the budget, upon a moderate scale, it is in order to be able to diminish taxes of a more onerous nature. The *cadastre** is full of imperfections, which become apparent every day; I shall endeavour to remedy those defects, and to overcome the obstacles opposed to such operations, much less by the nature of things than by private interests. I do not, however, flatter myself to obtain such results as will obviate the necessity of allowing a tax to reach its full amount.

"I have adopted measures for bestowing on the clergy a suitable endowment, of which they have been in part deprived for the last ten years; and my object in restoring some convents, as I have done, has been to protect those who devote themselves to services of public utility, or who, placed in the interior of the country amongst the peasantry, find themselves in a situation and in circumstances to supply the place of the regular clergy. I have

* Doomsday book.

also made such provision as will enable the bishops to be useful to the poor; and I only wait, to take into consideration the condition of the curates, until I have received the information resulting from the inquiries I have directed to be immediately made respecting their true situation. I know that many of them, particularly those living in the mountains, are in a state of poverty, which I have the most anxious wish to relieve.

"In addition to the road of the Simplon, which will be completed this year, and on which four thousand workmen are at this moment employed for that part only which crosses the kingdom of Italy, I have ordered that the port of Velano should be begun, and that these important labours should be commenced without delay, and carried on with activity.

"I have not neglected any of the objects respecting which my experience in matters of administration could be useful to my people; and before I repass the mountains I shall visit some of the departments, in order to be better acquainted with their wants.

"I shall leave, as depositary of my authority, a young prince whom I have brought up from his childhood, and who will, therefore, be ani-

inated with the same spirit as myself. But I have, at the same time, made such arrangements as will bring the most important affairs of the State under my immediate direction.

" The orators of my Council will present to you the project of a law for granting to Melzi, my chancellor and keeper of the seals, and during four years the depositary of my authority as vice-president, a domain which may remain in his family, as a testimony to his descendants of the satisfaction I have derived from his services.

" I think I have furnished additional proofs of my undeviating resolution, to do for my people of Italy all they expect from me; I hope they will, in their turn, occupy that place in my estimation which I have intended for them; they can only do this by being thoroughly persuaded that the army is the principal prop of a State.

" It is time that those young men who lead the idle life of cities, should cease to dread the fatigues and dangers of war, and should place themselves in a situation to be able to cause their country to be respected, if they wish it to be respectable.

" Gentlemen of the Legislative Body, emu-

late by your zeal my Council of State; and by your joint co-operation towards the attainment of public prosperity, afford to my representative that support which he must derive from you.

"The British Government having given an evasive answer to the proposals I had made to them, and the King of England having immediately made those proposals publicly known, and insulted my people in his Parliament, the hopes I had entertained of the re-establishment of peace have considerably diminished. The French fleets have, however, since then, obtained advantages, to which I only attach some importance, because they must serve to convince my enemies of the inutility of a war, in which they can gain nothing, and may lose every thing. The divisions of the flotilla, the frigates built at the expense of the finances of my kingdom of Italy, and which now form part of the French forces, have, on several occasions, rendered beneficial services. I still hope that the peace of the Continent will not be disturbed, though my position does not allow me to dread any of the chances of war. I shall be in the midst of you, whenever my presence is necessary to the safety of my kingdom of Italy.

19th.—Since the 15th the Emperor had successively lost and regained strength at various degrees. He was to-day suffering with flatulencies developed in the intestinal canal, and more particularly in the stomach. He could not eat any meat, and only took milky and farinaceous substances.

20th.—Tonic pill.—Sensation of uneasiness; nervous irritation.—Cough very dry and fatiguing.

Napoleon was exhausted.—"Well, Doctor, "this will soon end?"—"No, Sire, the irritation "is subsiding."—"Ever the same, Doctor; when "will you be tired of promising health?"—"When health is come."—"In that case you "have a long while to promise."—"Not so long as your Majesty supposes; and if you will only use mineral waters . . ."—"Do you think "they will allow me?"—"A refusal would expose them too much; it would be acknowledging murder!"—"Poor *Capo-Corsino*! you do "not know them."—"But if your health requires it, and the Doctor orders it, there would be too much inhumanity in a refusal."—"Undoubtedly."—He was looking at and following a cloud which was seen at a distance.—"What "effect do clouds produce upon us? What in-

" fluence do they exercise over the individual " who breathes them? They must every mo- " ment derange the equilibrium—produce a " muscular contraction—a tension which can " only be attended with fatal consequences, and " lead to death: for we are also governed by " the same laws as other bodies; fluid is con- " tained in our composition—we feel it by those " nervous irritations which denote stormy wea- " ther. To place a man amongst the clouds— " to oblige him to live in the sphere of activity, " of those masses which change, pass, return— " every moment is condemning him to experi- " ence a series of shocks and decompositions " which must soon exhaust life; it is exposing " him to the terrible energy of the galvanic " battery: am I right?" I assented. "You " must know, Doctor, that I am, as it were, " one of your profession; I know almost with " certainty what must result from such and " such a situation. For instance, a man " placed in a vapour-bath, and immediately " afterwards under the influence of excessive " heat, would experience a disorganization " analogous to that of a damp body suddenly " exposed to the action of fire: he would

" become warped, would torment himself, and " would soon exhaust his strength and powers. " Do you not think so?" I began to perceive the conclusion he was going to arrive at; and, however founded it was, I could not think of agreeing in it, as it favoured his aversion to medicines, and precluded all hope of recovery. I therefore told him that such was not the case; that in a climate decidedly bad, where the transitions of the temperature from heat to cold were sudden, where the wind never ceased to blow, where it rained incessantly and abundantly. ...." He did not allow me time to finish. " Doctor, you are always disposed to see the " bright side of every thing: take that memo- " randum-book, which you see there, near my " scrutoire; it will describe to you such a " climate as you are speaking of. To-day " is the 20th of February—how many tolerable " days have we had?" — " But, Sire, this year ...."—" Take any other, the first that comes, " 1817, for instance: now I am listening."— "One, two, ..."—" No; do not count the " days, read the statement from one end to the " other; I like to hear what climate I have " borne." I read:—

METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS,

Made at LONGWOOD *during the Years* 1816 *and* 1817.

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	Even.	FEBRUARY, 1817.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	Fahr.	REMARKS.
1	68	71	69	Violent rain, fine weather, wind.
2	66½	70	68	Wind, rain, and fog.
3	....	69	67½	Do. do. do.
4	...	70	68	Do. do. do.
5	67	72	69	Fine weather in the morning; in the evening rain.
6	67½	70	67½	Wind, weather generally fine.
7	67	...	67	Do. do.
8	66½	...	68	Slight rain.
9	67¾	73	69	Light wind, fine weather.
10	68	...	69	Do. do.
11	69	69	68½	Wind, rain, and fog.
12	67	...	...	Do. do.
13	...	...	67	Wind, slight rain, and fog.
14	67	...	67½	Do. do. do.
15	...	...	67	Wind, slight rain, and fog; in the evening much rain.
16	66	...	67½	Fog, and much rain.
17	67	72	69	Light wind, and fine weather.
18	66½	74	68½	Do. do. do.
19	68	71	69	Much rain.
20	68	71	68	Much rain, fog, and wind.
21	67½	69	...	Violent rain and fog.
22	68	72	69	Light wind, and much rain.
23	...	69	...	Light wind, much rain, and fog.
24	...	70	68	Light wind, rain, and fog.
25	67¾	...	68	Fine weather.
26	...	72	68½	Fine weather, light wind.
27	68	71	68	Fine weather, strong breezes.
28	67	70	68	High wind, rain and fog.

"Well, Doctor?"—"You are right, Sire: but it is not possible that every month should have

been so bad."—"Continue to read: see March, "it is one of the finest months at St. Helena." I again read.

Date.	Morn.	Noon.	Even.	MARCH, 1817.
	Fahr.	Fahr.	Fahr.	REMARKS.
1	68	69	68	Wind, fog, and rain.
2	67½	70	...	Do. do.
3	...	71	69	Fresh breezes, and fog.
4	...	72	...	Fresh breezes, fog, and rain.
5	67	71	67	Fresh breezes, cloudy, and slight rain.
6	66½	72	68	Wind moderate, and fine weather.
7	67	71½	69	Wind, rain, and fog.
8	67½	72	70	Do. do. do.
9	69	71	69	Slight wind, clouds, rain.
10	68	73½	71	Slight wind, fine weather.
11	69	73	71	Generally fine, light winds.
12	...	...	70	Fresh breezes, fog, and rain.
13	69½	71	69	Fresh breezes, fog, and slight rain.
14	68	72	68	Fine weather, strong wind.
15	...	71	69	Cloudy, but fine weather.
16	68½	73	70	Light wind, rain, and fog.
17	69	...	70	Do. do.
18	...	74	71	Light wind, and fine weather.
19	70½	72	69	Wind, fog, and intermittent rain.
20	68	69½	67½	Wind, fog, and much rain.
21	67	70	...	Do. do.
22	67½	69½	68½	Light wind, and rain.
23	68	69	68	Light wind, rain, and fog.
24	67½	71	68½	High wind, and fine weather.
25	68½	73½	71	Rainy weather.
26	69	71	69	Do. do.
27	...	72½	70	Do. do.
28	...	71	68	Rain in the morning; fine weather in the evening.
29	67	72	70½	Fine weather.
30	69	70	69	Light rain.
31	...	71	70	Clouds in the morning; rain in the evening.

"Are you convinced, Doctor? have you found "the climate you were going to describe?"— "Why, Sire ...." — "What?" — "Your Majesty must be proof against every thing; and destined not to die."—"Very well, Doctor; "hope is the best specific you can administer."

END OF VOL. I.

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